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Semipalatinsk Underground Nuclear Test Televised

PM1708120190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1250 GMT 14 Aug 90

[Captions from a 40-second broadcast showing an underground nuclear test at the Semipalatinsk Test Range; from the "Scientific Bulletin" program]

[Text] The area of the test range is 1.8 million hectares. The average cost of a single nuclear test in the USSR is 20-25 million rubles. Between 16 and 18 underground tests were carried out annually at the Semipalatinsk Range. Between 1949 and 1989 there were 636 nuclear tests in the USSR—Greenpeace data.

Military Analyst Chernyshev on Rocket Technology

LD2008170190 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT 20 Aug 90

["TASS Comment" by military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev: "Rocket Technology Is Spreading"]

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, together with many political and military issues, again put the problem of rocketry proliferation before the international community.

Access to weapons of various modifications creates a chance for spreading the arms race to various areas of the world and raises a possiblity of unleashing destructive and bloody regional conflicts.

According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, over 20 developing countries have missiles capable of hitting targets in other countries. Both Western countries and the Soviet Union actively contribute to spreading rocket technology.

Here is an example of the Middle East. Israel has mobile ground-to-ground missile systems purchased from the United States or developed with the use of French technology.

Arab countries, including Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia, are working on missile weapons or purchasing them abroad. Iraq is a "front-runner" in this field. It has experience of using missiles during the armed conflict with Iran.

Baghdad which bought missiles in the USSR improved them with the assistance of specialists from West Germany, Argentina and other countries. Taking into account present missile stockpiles, crises, similar to the present one in the Gulf, are unpredictable.

In a letter to the U.N. secretary-general, Eduard Shevardnadze made timely proposals to limit arms sales and to put obstacles in the way of missile technology proliferation. The following items are the most important in the new Soviet package.

Firstly, a call for openness in arms trade. The Soviet Union proposes that data on the deliveries of offensive weapons, including combat missiles and missile systems, should be forwarded to the United Nations.

Secondly, the spread of openness to various spheres, including aid in the organisation of arms production, construction of military projects and training of military personnel.

And, finally, understanding about specific limitation procedures on all the above issues in their application to areas of conflicts.

The practical implementation of the above proposals would create such a situation, in which the limitation of deliveries of missile weapons and technology or the imposition of a moratorium on them could become a component part of any package of commitments of interested countries on a political settlement of regional conflicts.

Talks on export and import of missiles and technology should also take into account the rights of states to individual and collective defence.

However, the principle of reasonable defensive sufficiency and the prevention of a chance to create offensive potentials, dangerous for some or other regions of the world, should play the decisive role.

Soviet-U.S. Chemical Arms Talks End in Geneva

LD1708192890 Moscow TASS in English 1711 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Geneva August 17 TASS—The 16th round of bilateral Soviet-American consultations on a chemical weapons ban ended in Geneva on Thursday.

During this round of talks the delegations began to draw up a document on inspection procedures. The document will set out detailed provisions for inspections under the agreement signed by the Soviet and U.S. presidents on June 1, 1990, on the destruction and non-production of chemical weapons and on measures to promote a multilateral convention banning chemical weapons.

The preparation of a document on inspection procedures is expected to be completed by December 31, 1990.

On August 21-22, a group of American specialists will visit the Chapayevsk centre for the training of personnel for work at chemical weapons disposal facilities.

A visit by a group of Soviet experts to Johnston Island is scheduled for this autumn. The Johnston Island facility began operations in July to eliminate U.S. chemical weapons.

The sides agreed to hold the next round of bilateral consultations in autumn this year.

Call for East European Unity on Gulf Crisis

PM2108085390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

["Viewpoint" by Andrey Krushinskiy: "Tonnes or Barrels"]

[Text] Since the first few days of August the world's press has been full of the alarm prompted in North and South America, Japan, and West Europe by the latest Near East crisis. Panic is mounting in the markets, the dollar is falling, and gasoline is getting more expensive. Tension is being whipped up at NATO and EC headquarters. But what about Budapest, Prague, Sofia, the Warsaw Pact, and CEMA? Readers may get the impression that East Europe is almost indifferent to the crisis. Quite the contrary: The Iraqi blitzkrieg in Kuwait and its consequences have dealt a substantial blow to the East European countries.

For instance, just take the number of foreign citizens planned to be evacuated from the military conflict zone. Their fate is one of the most alarming topics in the foreign press—it is mentioned almost daily at President G. Bush's press conferences. Yet if all the representatives of the "Big Seven" (the United States, Canada, Britain, the FRG, France, Italy, and Japan) caught up in the terrible events there were put together, they would only add up to the number of Yugoslav citizens there alone...

And that is not surprising: For the past three decades the East European countries have conducted a great deal of construction work in the Near East region exporting their machine building output (weapons in particular) there. The Near East has been an important source of convertible currency for them. A considerable proportion of the shipments, however, were made under loans thereby making the creditors dependent on their debtors.

For instance, at the end of last year Yugoslavia's foreign debt was in excess of $18 billion—but recently the $1.2 billion Iraq owed the country has been mentally deducted from this sum. "It is not clear what will happen in the Persian Gulf in the next few days, but one thing is clear—Iraq will never be able to repay its debt," the Ljubljana newspaper DELO lamented. And Yugoslavia also stands to lose Iraqi orders worth $1 billion because of the current crisis. Similar problems are currently being faced by Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

We can imagine how hard it was for each of the East European states to condemn the Iraqi aggression and join the embargo announced by the UN Security Council! But that is not all. The complexity of the East European countries' position is further complicated by another point: It just so happened that this is the year that the Soviet Union has notably cut back on oil shipments to its CEMA partners because of its own domestic economic problems—as a result of which their oil refinery capacity has been underused. The partners were planning to partly make up this raw material shortage by using Iraqi oil—but that hope too will have to be abandoned.

A Czechoslovak newspaper recently published an article headlined "Let's Learn from Other Countries' Oil Shocks" which, while advocating economizing on energy sources, also made the following recommendation: "Isn't it time we switched to calculating the figures for oil imports not in tonnes but in barrels (159 liters—A.K.) along with the rest of the world?" During the energy crisis of the seventies, however, a far more convincing experience of overcoming the destructive consequences of an "oil shock" emerged: cooperation among the CEMA countries. After all, at that time none of these countries had any major problems with energy sources thanks to this coordinated action. Why is nobody referring to this experience now?

If today you flick through newspapers from the East European countries you may form the impression that backbiting is the priority. The Hungarian newspapers complain about Romania and Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak newspapers complain about Hungary, Poland, and the GDR. The press in a number of these countries loses no opportunity to really have a go at the USSR. Yet they are receiving petroleum from the Soviet Union—albeit in slightly smaller quantities but still measured in tonnes, a bigger measure than barrels!

The events in the Persian Gulf have again reminded us that, irrespective of turbulent political change, the East European countries have a great deal in common—in their everyday affairs, in their weaknesses and problems, and in their current and long-term tasks. It would also probably be easier for them to resolve those tasks jointly. The time has come when, instead of squabbling and premature "funerals," it is worthwhile for the Warsaw Pact and CEMA to use their ideologically unblinded mechanisms to coordinate action and defend their largely identical interests in the face of an extremely dangerous international crisis.

Anniversary of Czechoslovakian Invasion Noted

LD2008211290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2010 GMT 20 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Twenty-two years ago, the troops of the Soviet Union and of other Warsaw Pact countries entered Czechoslovakia and suppressed the movement for socialism with a human face, a precursor of our perestroyka. Only seven people at that time protested in Moscow, four ended up in court for this. Many documents that cast light on the intervention are still considered secret, and are inaccessible even to the professionals. [video shows youths shaking fists at Soviet tank passing through cobbled street, firebomb burning at rear end of tank, youths sticking flag in tank's gun barrel]

TASS Reports Gremitskikh's 20 Aug Briefing

Urges Iraqi Withdrawal From Kuwait

LD2008121290 Moscow TASS in English 1158 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—Moscow has again urged Iraq to comply with Security Council Resolution 660, demanding it withdraw its forces from Kuwait.

Commenting on the arrival of Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and member of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council Sa'dun Hammadi, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh said the implementation of this resolution "is a necessary element of any political settlement of the crisis in the region".

During talks with Hammadi the Soviet side will discuss "the current very dangerous situation in the Gulf and present our principled assessment of the acute crisis prompted by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the annexation of this independent sovereign state," Gremitskikh said.

Envoy To Continue Arab States Tour

LD2008140990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1314 GMT 20 Aug 90

[TASS correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Ryabkin report]

[Text] Moscow 20 Aug (Tass)—As reported today at a briefing by Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Mikhail Sytenko, special representative of the Soviet leadership will continue his trip to a number of Arab countries to hold urgent consultations with their leaders on the Iraq-Kuwait crisis. There have already been meetings with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, Ahmad Ismat Abd al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, and the leadership of the Libyan people's bureau for foreign liaison. Mikhail Sytenko is currently in Sanaa.

The itinerary of the Soviet envoy includes visits to Jordan and Iraq later and he will possibly visit other Arab countries, Yuriy Gremitskikh said.

Views Fate of Foreigners

LD2008145790 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By TASS Correspondent Boris Zverev and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh expressed the Soviet Union's concern over the fate of nationals from several countries in Iraq and Kuwait at today's briefing.

"We share anxiety over the plight of citizens from several third countries," he stressed. "This problem should be settled as soon as possible in compliance with the basic rules of international law and principles of humaneness and respect for human rights."

"On our part, we shall do our utmost to this end," the spokesman noted.

The Soviet Union, together with all other Security Council members, voted for Resolution 664 demanding that Iraq permit an immediate departure of third countries' citizens from Kuwait and Iraq and stressing the need to ensure their safety.

Welcomes U.S. Lift of Restrictions

LD2008150990 Moscow TASS in English 1437 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By TASS Correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh, at a briefing here today, welcomed again President Bush's decision to lift restrictions on the total number of Soviet commercial and economic officials in the United States.

As is known, the quota on the personnel of Soviet official missions engaged in commercial activity in the United States was imposed in February 1980 in connection with the entry of Soviet troops into Afghanistan.

Gremitskikh said that the step of the U.S. Administration is aimed at clearing obstacles to commercial and economic relations between the two countries. He said that the decision is undoubtedly reflecting positive tendencies developing in Soviet-American relations.

At the same time Gremitskikh noted that the U.S. Administration's decision will apparently require additional discussions and specification. "We get the impression that Soviet state commercial and economic institutions in the United States might be placed in unequal conditions with Soviet non-governmental organizations," he specifically said.

Views Nonproliferation Treaty

LD2008150390 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By TASS Correspondents Boris Zverev and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, August 20 TASS—The nuclear nonproliferation treaty was described by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh at today's briefing as a "major and prestigious multilateral agreement in arms limitation".

The treaty was signed by over 140 countries, and the USSR, the United States and Britain are its depositories.

Dealing with the fourth conference on the operation of the treaty to be held in Geneva between August 20 and September 14, the spokesman said that, taking into account the importance of the conference, President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a congratulatory message to conference participants.

The message notes that nuclear nonproliferation is assuming great importance when real nuclear disarmament has begun. The observance of the treaty will help continue this process successfully.

The Soviet president notes that the Soviet Union sets the task of prohibiting and destroying completely nuclear weapons under efficient international control and of creating a nuclear-free world, Gremitskikh continued.

The Soviet Union will strive for achieving high results at the talks on all aspects of nuclear disarmament.

Gorbachev Greets Nonproliferation Conference

LD2008184690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] A briefing on current international policy matters was held today in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center in Moscow for Soviet and foreign journalists. Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, who spoke at the briefing said in particular:

[Begin Gremitskikh recording] The fourth conference which reviews the progress of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons—the participants included the USSR, the United States, and Great Britain—will take place in Geneva from 20 August through 14 September this year.

Currently, this treaty represents the most significant and authoritative multilateral agreement in the sphere of limiting weapons, in which more than 140 states participate. On the basis of the treaty, an international regime of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons took shape, which is a substantial factor in ensuring security, stability, and mutual trust in relations between states.

Considering the importance of the event, during which the treaty's operation within the five-year period 1985-1990 is reviewed—that is, the organization's period of active introduction into the framework of international life within the principles of new poliical thinking—the USSR president, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, has sent greetings to those taking part in the conference.

The greeting states that because of the commencement of real nuclear disarmament, the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons acquires special signficance. Observance of the treaty is becoming one of the factors in the successful continuation of the disarmament process. The unwavering goal of Soviet foreign policy, says the message from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, remains the strengthening of the 1963 treaty and the attainment of its universal application. The USSR advocates reliable protection from nonnuclear countries using or threatening to use nuclear weapons. Our goal is its prohibition and complete elimination under effective international control, and the building of a nuclear-free world.

In the future the USSR will also persistently continue to strive towards achievement of the effectiveness of talks on all aspects of nuclear disarmament. Gorbachev's message continues that it is especially necessary to note the activity of the IAEA which monitors the fulfillment of states' obligations in the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, and which organizes international interaction in the sphere of the peaceful atom, and the safe conditions for its use. He wishes the conference success in its important work. [end recording]

Report on FRG, GDR Liberals Congress

PM2008123790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Ye. Bovkun: "German Liberals Unite"]

[Excerpts] Bonn—The markedly businesslike atmosphere in Hannover's Hall of Congresses made it clear that historic events do not require a magnificent setting. The unifying congress of FRG and GDR liberals, which was held there 11-12 August, really can be considered historic—it creates a new point of departure in the development of the liberal movement in Germany. [passage omitted]

Opening the congress, O. Lambsdorff, [chairman of the FRG's Free Democratic Party], expressed the conviction that the ideals of liberalism in the modern world determine the development of progress to a considerable degree. In this context, he spoke about the triumph of the liberal principles of the peaceful revolution in the GDR and in the process of reforms in the countries of Central and East Europe, as expressed above all in the successes of the market economy, which liberals have always consistently championed.

FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the most popular liberal politician in the two German states, also mentioned the liberals' historic responsibility. He would obviously be the chairman of the new united party most acceptable to all, but he "refused the nomination." Whatever the honor that this post would bestow on him, it would merely put an additional burden on him and divert him from fulfilling tasks in the foreign policy sphere, which is now assuming increasingly great significance for Germany with regard to the external aspects of its unification. By a majority of votes the delegates elected O. Lambsdorff chairman of the Free Democratic Party. [passage omitted]

A special working group will formulate a new strategy over the next few days. It will submit its draft program to the participants in the next congress, to be held in Nuremberg at the end of September. There the question of the future coalition will be finally decided.

True, in the opinion of O. Lambsdorff, only the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union can be the Free Democratic Party's partner in an all-German government.

The Hannover congress participants did not adopt any foreign policy resolutions. However, Genscher defined the liberals' foreign policy guidelines quite clearly in his speech.

"We bank on a European confederation which will embrace the whole continent," the FRG foreign minister emphasized. "We bank on deepening the Helsinki process, which must open up the way to a peaceful European order. We favor the West's helping the East in its reforms. We do not want the removal of the causes of ideological tension to result in economic tension, whose consequences would mean a new split in Europe. We will seek to ensure that disarmament does not bring up the rear of European development but heads it. The Hannover forum is the first unifying congress of political parties of the FRG and the GDR and will be followed by others. But they will all take place before the official procedure of the GDR's joining the FRG, for this is the will of the party masses. This demonstrates the rightness of those Western colleagues of mine who were predicting, long before the spring parliamentary elections in the GDR, that the majority of its population wants unification decisively and irrevocably. For some reason it seems to me that there are still people among us who entertain illusions about this."

Northeast Asia

U.S. Accused of Bidding To Keep Korea 'Split'

LD2108090190 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Ryabov]

[Text] Pyongyang August 21 TASS—The military commission for armistice in Korea has held a regular meeting at Panmunjom on a suggestion from the North Korean side to consider the situation that has developed on the Korean peninsula in recent weeks.

The republic's central press reports today that Major-General Choe Ui-ung, North Korea's chief delegate on the commission, condemned the actions of Washington which, by building up its Armed Forces in South Korea and arranging exercises there, heightens tension in the area to the utmost.

There were over 190 military exercises of various scope from August 1-19 alone. The United States used combat aircraft stationed at Kadena and Iwaguni in Japan to practice operations to deliver air strikes on the North Korean territory.

Choe Ui-ung pointed to current siting of F-16 fighter-bombers, submarines and other U.S. armaments in South Korea.

The North Korean chief delegate accused U.S. servicemen of organising provocations in the demilitarised zone which separates North and South Korea.

Urging representatives of the U.N. command on the commission to "immediately" secure an end to such actions, Choe Ui-ung emphasised that the United States should abandon the concept of counterveiling.

He said that Washington, pushing Seoul to confrontation with Pyongyang under conditions of dialogue between North and South Korea, thereby seeks to maintain the split on the Korean peninsula.

Rally for Reunification Held on Korean Border

SK2008120590 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 18 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Today, PRAVDA carried a statement issued by the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The statement pointed out that on 15 August, the pannational rally for Korean reunification and peace was held in Panmunjom—the boundary line area dividing the Korean peninsula.

This rally was held on the 45th anniversary of Korean liberation from Japanese colonial rule. The rally was attended by DPRK delegates, some nongovernment-level delegates of South Korean social organizations, and delegates of Koreans living overseas.

Even though delegates of the Seoul administration did not attend the pannational rally owing to this or that reason, the fact itself that a new political function was held for reunification, peace, and relaxation of tension in the boundary line area dividing the North and the South revealed the Korean people's desire for national unity, that is, the Korean people's desire for opening a new form for dialogue.

The Soviet Union views the pannational rally for Korean reunification and peace as a major step for reunification. In addition, the Soviet Union hopes those participants in the rally will make new efforts for national reconciliation, unity, and favorable conditions for national reunification.

Mongolian Rehabilitation of Repressed Continues

LD2008193290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0915 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Dugar Sanzhiyevl]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 20 Aug (TASS)—The process of restoring historical justice in the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], which was inaugurated at the initiative of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], has entered a new phase. At the same time as the good name of citizens who were illegally persecuted in the thirties, forties, and fifties is restored, the decrees on their state awards that were previously annulled are becoming valid.

According to a decision adopted by the MPR People's Great Hural in April of this year, the order, medals, and other symbols of distinction are being returned either to the people who have been rehabilitated or to their close relatives.

According to 'UNEN,' certificates of bestowal of the first tokens of distinction of the People's Republic, including the "Polar Star" Order, have been delivered to the children of Navaandorjiyn Jadambaa, former deputy chairman of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the country's Armed Forces Council, and to Oldziyburengiyn Puntsaa, a former military procurator of the MPR.

At the same time those formerly repressed are having their military titles and titles of honor returned to them.

Near East & South Asia

Iraqi Deputy Premier Discusses Gulf Situation

Arrives in Moscow 20 Aug

JN2008134590 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1205 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 20 Aug (INA)—Sa'dun Hammadi, Revolution Command Council member, deputy prime minister, and President Saddam Husayn's envoy to the Soviet leadership, arrived in Moscow today on a three-day visit to the Soviet Union. During the visit, Sa'dun

Hammadi will hold talks with Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet Presidential Council member and foreign minister; Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations. The talks will deal with bilateral relations and current developments in the region.

Sa'dun Hammadi was received by Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, a number of Soviet Foreign Ministry officials, and the Iraqi ambassador in Moscow.

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD2008155190 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has described his meeting with Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Sa'dun Hammadi in Moscow today as "consultations."

Hammadi arrived in Moscow at mid-day as a special representative of the Iraqi leadership and was received by Shevardnadze in the afternoon.

Immediately after the meeting that lasted about three hours, Shevardnadze told TASS that they discussed the situation in the Persian Gulf region.

Shevardnadze pointed out that he cannot describe the conversation with the Iraqi representative as "negotiations," but rather as "consultations," "an exchange of information and views" or "a comparison of views with due account for the situation in the region."

The Soviet minister said that both sides agreed to continue consultations.

Details Stance on 'Unification'

JN2008180190 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1727 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 20 Aug (INA)—Sa'dun Hammadi, Revolution Command Council [RCC] member, deputy prime minister, and President Saddam Husayn's envoy to the Soviet leadership, met at the Soviet Foreign Ministry this afternoon with Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Soviet Presidential Council and foreign minister.

Following the meeting, Sa'dun Hammadi told the INA correspondent in Moscow that he gave a detailed explanation to the Soviet foreign minister of Iraq's view of the circumstances that led to the recent Kuwait-Iraq unification. The Soviet side, represented by the foreign minister, also explained its viewpoint.

Sa'dun Hammadi added: The talks were useful and we agreed to continue contacts within the framework of bilateral relations and the desire to develop them further.

Sa'dun Hammadi also met with Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and discussed with him bilateral relations, the means of developing them, and the current situation in the region.

Sa'dun Hammadi arrived earlier in Moscow on a three-day visit to the USSR.

Discusses Soviets Leaving Iraq

PM2008215990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze met 20 August with S. Hammadi, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and deputy prime minister of Iraq, who has arrived in Moscow as the special representative of the Iraqi leaderhip.

During a three-hour talk the sides set out their respective positions and exchanged information, views, and assessments pertaining to the situation which has arisen in the Persian Gulf region and the Near East as a whole. The Soviet minister focused attention on possible ways and means of surmounting the crisis with a view to preventing the confrontation growing and resulting in a military clash with unpredictable consequences for the region and the world.

A special portion of the talks was devoted to discussing the question of the position of foreign citizens caught up in the conflict in Kuwait and Iraq. After expressing satisfaction at the Iraqi side's assistance in returning Soviet people home, Shevardnadze urged that a similar decision be made with regard to the citizens of other states.

The sides assessed positively the very fact of the holding of high-level consultations and agreed to continue on a systematic basis a dialogue on all problems determining the atmosphere in this region.

Answering questions put by TASS diplomatic correspondent A. Kanishchev immediately following this meeting the USSR foreign minister assessed the talk as "useful, necessary, and essential," after stressing that these were not "negotiations" but "consultations rather, an exchange of information and opinions, and a comparison of views in light of the current situation in this region."

Speaking of the latest proposals by Iraqi President S. Husayn, the USSR foreign minister said: "I believe that there are elements which attract attention. We are now conducting very intensive work at expert level. We are studying all the details, all the sections of the Iraqi president's speech."

After remarking that he is aware of "the negative reaction of many people in the West" to this speech by the Iraqi leader, E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized once again that the Soviet side's "first impression" is nevertheless "such that there are elements in it which merit serious attention."

Speaking of the continuing evacuation of Soviet citizens from Kuwait, the minister remarked that the Iraqi authorities are rendering support with a view to ensuring that the evacuation proceeds without complications. Regarding the evacuation of Soviet citizens from Iraq, Shevardnadze announced that women and children will be taken out, but specialists "are remaining for the time being." A decision regarding them, he added, will be taken "in light of the development of the situation as a whole."

Meets With Belousov 21 Aug

JN2108115290 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1035 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 21 Aug (INA)—President Saddam Husayn's envoy to the Soviet leadership Sa'dun Hammadi, Revolution Command Council [RCC] member and deputy prime minister, met with Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, here today.

In a statement to the INA correspondent in Moscow, Hammadi said that the talks dealt with bilateral relations and other issues of common interest.

The RCC member and deputy prime minister will meet with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, later today, and will discuss with him common issues of interest to Iraq and the USSR.

Sa'dun Hammadi arrived in Moscow yesterday on a three-day visit to the USSR. He met with Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Presidential Council and Soviet foreign minister; and Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, yesterday, and discussed with them bilateral relations, means of promoting them, and current developments in the region.

Shevardnadze, Indian Counterpart Discuss Gulf

PM1708083490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ministers' Meeting"]

[Text] A meeting was held 14 August between Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Indian External Affairs Minister I.K. Gujral, who came to Moscow for an exchange of opinions concerning the crisis situation in and around the Persian Gulf.

It was noted that a special danger is posed by the fact that the confrontation is tending to escalate and that the mass involvement of external forces in the conflict and the tension generated by the open use of force by one state against another are increasing. Such a situation is shaping up now that the sides involved in the conflict are thinking in terms of a military solution of the question. In this situation any incautious or unconsidered step could entail extremely dangerous consequences for both the countries of the region and international peace and security.

Here it was noted that that the exchange of opinions between the Soviet Union and India is exceptionally active and important in regard to establishing coordination between the efforts of states interested in the swiftest peaceful settlement of the dangerous source of tension that has developed in this region.

In accordance with the course of all-around strengthening of peace and security and peaceful settlement of conflict situations pursued by them the Soviet Union and India firmly advocate the restoration of the situation existing before the Iraqi troops' invasion of Kuwait and the start of political dialogue between the sides. Collective actions and the full use of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, assume an important role in the prevailing conditions.

Welcoming Arab countries' efforts to neutralize the conflict, the Soviet Union and India consider that energetic actions on the part of the Arab countries themselves could help bring about the very rapid normalization of the situation in the region.

The USSR and India are convinced that the crisis situation in the Persian Gulf region can be prevented from turning into a major armed conflict through the joint efforts of all peace-loving countries. A return to observance of the universally recognized norms and principles of international law and the UN Charter are a reliable foundation for this.

The ministers expressed concern over the situation in which citizens of the Soviet Union, India, and other countries have found themselves as a result of the conflict and agreed to continue their efforts to find the optimal solution to this problem in close contact with the Iraqi authorities and in accordance with the principles of humanitarianism and respect for the interests of every person, irrespective of national affiliation.

Certain questions concerning the situation in South Asia were also touched upon. The Indian minister reported on the results of the latest round of Indian-Pakistani talks on normalizing bilateral relations held in Delhi. In the opinion of both sides, the recent reshuffles in the Pakistani leadership are that country's internal affair. The hope was expressed that this will not affect the process of democratization of Pakistani society. Stress was placed upon the vital need to seek peaceful means of settling outstanding problems in relations between the two countries on the basis of good will and consideration of mutual interests. As far as the situation in Kashmir is concerned, it should be settled directly between India and Pakistan on the basis of the Simla agreement, which excludes the use of force, without any outside interference.

Discussion of the question of an Afghan settlement occupied considerable space at the meeting. The Soviet Union and India consider that the establishment of intra-Afghan dialogue and the holding of free and democratic elections in the light of Afghan traditions and under the auspices of and with the most active participation of the United Nations form an integral part of the efforts to settle the situation in Afghanistan.

TASS Reports Official Talks on Gulf Crisis

Belonogov Meets FRG Envoy

LD1608163490 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Belonogov met West German Charge d'Affaires Eberhard Heyken here today at Heyken's request.

The two discussed a settlement of the Gulf crisis.

Kvitsinskiy Meets UK Counterpart

LD1608195790 Moscow TASS in English 1947 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy today received Gerald Kaufman, member of the leadership of the British Labour Party and the foreign minister in the shadow cabinet, who made a stopover in Moscow. They discussed some topical problems of international and European politics and ways to settle the Persian Gulf crisis.

Special Envoy Meets Yemeni Leader

LD2008173490 Moscow TASS in English 1716 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Sanaa August 20 TASS—Special repesentative of the Soviet leadership Mikhail Sytenko, who arrived here for consultations on the Iraqi-Kuwaiti crisis, was received on Monday by Chairman of the Presidential Council of the Yemen Republic 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih.

During a substantive conversation they had a useful exchange of opinions on topical aspects of the present explosive situation in the Persian Gulf.

The sides discussed possible ways of easing tension in the region, both by international collective efforts through the United Nations and through the framework of Arab interaction.

U.S. Defense Secretary Extends Tour of Gulf

LD2108091190 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Malyarov]

[Text] Cairo August 21 TASS—U.S. Defense Secretary Dick Cheney has extended his tour of the Gulf as the crisis in the region escalates.

It was initially announced that Cheney would end his tour in Oman. However, last night he visited Qatar and again Saudi Arabia. This morning the defence secretary is expected to arrive in Cairo.

In Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, Cheney was received by King Fahd and held talks with Prince Sultan Bin-Abd-al-'Aziz, the Kingdom's defence and aviation minister, and other top military leaders. No details of the talks have been reported.

Earlier, Cheney visited Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates [UAE] and Oman, where he was received by their leaders and held talks with generals, and inspected some U.S. units deployed in Saudi Arabia and on warships in the Gulf.

The UAE has given the green light to the deployment of U.S. troops in the Emirates. The first U.S. transport planes arrived in the UAE on Monday night.

UN Security Council Reviews Position on Mideast

Averts Vote on Enforcing Embargo

LD2108075490 Moscow TASS in English 0729 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations August 21 TASS—The United States has failed to persuade U.N. Security Council members into immediately adopting a resolution giving the green light to the use of force to effect the trade embargo against Iraq.

During the consultations at the U.N. headquarters it was decided to postpone voting on the U.S.-sponsored draft resolution in order to give governments additional time to study it.

Resolution Expected

LD2008134190 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin—read by announcer]

[Text] Consultations continue in the United Nations Security Council on strengthening the sanctions against Iraq. Reportedly the Security Council is more and more inclined to pass a new resolution based on Article 42 in the UN Charter. The vote on the resolution may be taken tonight. Here is a commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin, and this is what he writes.

I have to explain, writes Aleksandr Pogodin, this is a rather serious article in the charter. It provides, in part, for a naval blockade and for the use of force. In the currently extremely acute situation it is especially important to take joint actions, not only moves by individual countries even though these moves are motivated by the need to stop the aggressor. The United Nations, the Security Council, have all the possibilities to fully regain the role of a tool for keeping peace and stability, as envisaged by the United Nations Charter.

The Soviet Union believes it would be expedient to make use of the military staff committee of the Security Council. Other ways are possible to stop the hostilities and to prevent them from spreading to other regions to forestall the chain reaction dangerous for the entire world community. From the very start the Soviet Union took up a clear stand about the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. Together with other Security Council members, it decisively condemned the act of [word indistinct] flouting international law. The Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev stressed this: It is impossible for us to react in any different way because the aggression was committed with the help of Soviet arms too, which the USSR agreed to sell to Iraq only for maintaining its defense capability and not for seizing foreign territories and whole states.

The USSR maintains close contacts with the permanent member nations of the Security Council and is conducting intensive diplomatic activity in the Arab world on whose sense of responsibility and [word indistinct] judgment counts. The Soviet Union intends to keep acting exclusively within the framework of collective efforts to settle the conflict, to prevent it from growing into a military clash on a still more dangerous scale.

Reports Continue on Events in Persian Gulf

Kuwaiti Resistance Attacks

LD2108110190 Moscow TASS in English 1048 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Malyarov]

[Text] Cairo August 21 TASS—A group of Kuwaiti resistance fighters attacked fortified positions of Iraqi troops in one district of the Kuwaiti capital, the AL-AHRAM newspaper reported.

Resistance fighters fired on Iraqis with submachine-guns and machine-guns and then, upon drawing nearer, hurled grenades at Iraqi positions. Iraqis sustained losses in manpower.

Over the past 24 hours resistance fighters fired with automatic weapons on several Iraqi Army patrols. At least two Iraqi soldiers were wounded, the newspaper reports with reference to eyewitnesses that crossed the Kuwaiti-Saudi border last night.

Kuwaiti television, broadcasting from Riyadh, reported that groups of young Kuwaitis voluntarily return to the country and join the resistance movement which has acquired an increasingly massive character in recent days.

France Warned Against Blockade

LD2108133690 Moscow TASS in English 1257 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Yefremov: "Iraqi Authorities Threaten French Nationals"]

[Text] Cairo August 21 TASS—Iraqi authorities said that the attitude to French citizens in Iraq will be the same as to Americans if the French Government participates in blockading Iraq together with the United States, the MENA news agency reports from Baghdad.

The Iraqi parliamentary spokesman stressed that Baghdad does not trust Paris any more after the French Foreign Ministry's statement that France will participate in Iraq's blockade together with the United States.

Evacuations From Kuwait, Iraq Continue

'Proceeding Smoothly'

PM2008153990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent M. Kozhevnikov: "Homeward Bound!"]

[Text] Damascus—We have all been concerned about the fate of Soviet citizens in Kuwait and Iraq. As is known, their evacuation has already begun and is taking place via Jordan.

On the morning of 20 August I managed to get through to Amman on the telephone and talk with Yevgeniy Timofeyev, head of the consular department at the USSR Embassy in Jordan. Here is what he said:

"In view of the emergency situation, a 24-hour staff has been set up at the Soviet Embassy in Amman to coordinate the dispatch of our people to the homeland. The first group of 225 people, including 18 women and eight children, was evacuated from Kuwait 18 August. They were mainly Soviet specialists working on the construction of oil facilities. The evacuation as a whole is proceeding smoothly. To get from Kuwait to the border with Jordan, people are crossing Iraqi territory in buses provided by the Iraqi authorities. At the border they transfer to buses specially hired by the Soviet Embassy staff in Jordan. Then the people are taken to 'Alyah International Airport where we give them the requisite assistance to get through customs and border formalities. The Soviet citiziens are taken from Amman to Moscow by special direct Aeroflot flights.

"I would like to mention in this connection the great assistance we are being given by the Jordanian authorities in organizing the Soviet people's transit through Jordan. All requests by the Soviet Embassy have met with understanding and have been implemented as quickly as possible."

[Kozhevnikov] You have had contact with our people. What is their mood and how are they coping with the difficult situation they suddenly find themselves in?

[Timofeyev] Of course, they all want to get home as soon as possible. Many have expressed gratitude for the well organized evacuation. No one is panicking; they are all trying to help one another. I admit that people are very tired, particularly the children, following the arduous journey from Kuwait to Jordan (1,800 kilometers in 50 degrees of heat). But, I repeat, they are all eager to get home....

[Kozhevnikov] Do you have any news from Kuwait about IZVESTIYA correspondent Boris Ivanov? The editorial office and I, from Damascus, have been trying unsuccessfully to contact him for two weeks now.

[Timofeyev] Unfortunately, we have heard nothing as yet. Today we are meeting another group of Soviet citizens from Kuwait—around 430—on the border with Iraq, and are sending them to Moscow. I will try to find out whether anyone among them has heard about your colleague.

[Kozhevnikov] Thank you very much, I will certainly call you again.

[Timofeyev] Goodbye.

Iraqi Position Unclear

PM2008154990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 90 First Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Belyakov: "Authoritative Sources"]

[Text] There have been reports in Western media that Iraq has refused the Soviet Union's request for the evacuation of all Soviet personnel from the country, agreeing only to permit women and children to leave. What is the situation? PRAVDA correspondent V. Belyakov put this question to M.S. Tsvigun, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Near East and North African Countries Administration.

"The Soviet side has not asked the Iraqi Government to authorize the evacuation of men," came the reply. "There is no need for that at the moment. But if the need arises, we hope the question will be resolved in the same spirit of mutual understanding and assistance from the Iraqi side as that in which the question of the evacuation of Soviet citizens from Kuwait and women and children from Iraq has been and is being resolved."

Third Group Departs

LD2008212390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2047 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Marunin]

[Text] Ruweyshid (Jordanian border crossing point), 21 Aug (TASS)—A third group of Soviet citizens evacuated from Kuwait arrived late Monday evening in Ruweyshid, a checkpoint on the Jordan border. It was comprised of 346 people, mainly builders of oil installations in Kuwait.

Because the Jordanian checkpoint is overburdened with work and because of the large size of the group, the processing of documents will take several hours. It is estimated that the evacuees will arrive at Alyah International Airport outside Amman at 0700 Moscow time.

There are now 188 Soviet citizens left in Kuwait.

Somalia Adopts 'Wait-and-See' Attitude in Gulf

EA2008135890 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 19 Aug 90

[From the "East Africa Last Week" program]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Gulf crisis had big repercussions in Somalia. In the past week, Mogadishu has witnessed continuous demonstrations in support of Iraq. According to the Somali National News Agency, the demonstators expressed their rejection of foreign forces in the Gulf and demanded their removal from the region to pave the way for the Arab states to find a just solution to the Gulf crisis. On the other hand, there were two bomb explosions around the Libyan and Iraqi Embassies injuring four people. Though no one has claimed responsibility for these incidents, political experts have unanimously agreed that the spate of bombings was carried out by supporters of Saudi Arabia.

The Gulf crisis seems to have led Somalia into a state of worry, which is best illustrated by the sudden socioeconomic change in the country. Needless to say, Somali masses have been more preoccupied with the Gulf crisis than with their internal politics. In this regard even the opposition may have a different stance on the Gulf crisis, and this could make a just solution, a settlement of the conflicting political opinions in the country, more remote. Siad Barre's regime has not indicated its political stance regarding the Gulf crisis. I ought to say that the regime has adopted a wait-and-see attitude.

Commentaries Continue Assessing Gulf Crisis

Saddam's Motives Eyed

PM2008112690 Paris LE FIGARO in French 16 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Georgiy Smirskiy, "Persian Gulf expert at the World Economics and International Relations Institute, Moscow," by Laure Mandeville; place and date not given]

[Text] [Mandeville] Were you surprised by Iraq's aggression against Kuwait?

[Smirskiy] No, this action is chiefly attributable to the psychology of Saddam Husayn—a very disturbing person, cruel, unscrupulous, and capable of embarking on any kind of adventure.

The invasion of Kuwait is also attributable to the fact that Iraq is a very prominent regional power—a "mini-superpower" that dreams of extending its hegemony over the Arab world. This is also true of Syria, but the latter lacks the means to extend its power beyond Lebanon, where it has become bogged down.

The seizure of control over Kuwait also has major economic advantages for Saddam Husayn: It grants him control of 20 percent of the world's oil resources. This figure would reach 50 percent if he also controlled Saudi Arabia.

[Mandeville] Can Saddam Husayn rely on Arab support?

[Smirskiy] The Arab world has always tried to be united, to create a power center to defend its interests in the face of the world community.

[Mandeville] Is this an illusion?

[Smirskiy] Yes, but one that endures in people's minds. The Arabs are still seeking a leader. For many people, in Palestine, Jordan, Saddam Husayn is the embodiment of this long-awaited leader. They see in him someone capable of standing up to the Israelis and Americans. There has been nobody like that since al-Nasir.

[Mandeville] But have the Arab governments not condemned him?

[Smirskiy] I am talking to you about youngsters and ordinary people, who are unacquainted with the subtleties of politics but who believe that the Arab world is humiliated by the Israeli presence. The concepts of "sovereign state" and "inviolability of borders" cherished by the West mean nothing to them. They are unconcerned about the future of Kuwait's wealthy emirs. Soon they will forget about Iraq's aggression. What they will not forget is that Husayn has challenged America and Israel.

[Mandeville] So do you consider the sending of American troops to Saudi Arabia a mistake?

[Smirskiy] In my opinion, there was a serious misjudgment of the Arab world's reactions. Perhaps George Bush had no other choice. I understand his position. Saudi Arabia is too vital a factor for him to have been able to take the risk of another Iraqi aggression. But from the Arab viewpoint, the presence of American and British ships entails a new ball game. Now the aggressor is "imperialist and Zionist."

[Mandeville] Syria and Egypt are acting to bar Saddam Husayn's way.

[Smirskiy] This is true. There has been a real turnaround. Hafiz al-Asad and Mubarak are partners again. But what can Syria do?

King Husayn of Jordan is in an even more difficult position. The embargo against Iraq directly affects his economy because he maintained close relations with Saddam Husayn. Will he take the risk of stifling his partner by closing the port of Aqaba, the only outlet for Iraqi oil following the closure of its pipelines? The Jordanians, who are very much behind Iraq, would not understand such a betrayal.

[Mandeville] Could opposition to Saddam Husayn come from within Iraq? The war against Iran must have turned many Iraqis against the tyrant....

[Smirskiy] The war against the Persian enemy brought the people together. Moreover, Saddam Husayn systematically eliminates every trade of opposition. The Army is constantly being purged. Fear reigns and society is like a coffin. Only an embargo lasting several months and the start of a famine could crystallize dissatisfaction.

[Mandeville] Now that the USSR has condemned its former ally, can we expect its more active participation in the settlement of this conflict?

[Smirskiy] Some years ago a U.S. presence in the Gulf would have elicited here banner headlines proclaiming "the threat of American imperialism." This time the Soviets have sided with the West.

This turnabout is not attributable to our sympathy for Kuwait. Iraq was a considerably more important ally for us. But there has been a violation of international law—a law which we still invoke. We could not have done otherwise. It would have destroyed the trust earned in the West.

Having said that, the USSR must take account of the psychology of the Arab world and its interests in this region. If we had sent in military forces we would have completely destroyed our credibility. We would have been lumped together with "imperialism."

Furthermore, we have only just left Afghanistan. Our troops are tackling the problems of the Caucasus. All we need now is the Gulf!

[Mandeville] The USSR does not want a destabilization of the situation in the Near East. What will its policy be?

[Smirskiy] To be frank, we are less and less interested in the Near East. It was a parade ground, an ideal place for destabilizing the West, an area for spreading ideology. But with the bankruptcy of socialism and the rapprochement with the West, the Near East is becoming less important. We no longer play a superpower role there. We are no longer a superpower.

'Severe Sanctions' Recommended

PM2008153090 London MORNING STAR in English 18 Aug 90 p 5

[Article by professor Viktor Kremenyuk, deputy director of Moscow's United States and Canada Institute: "Protecting the World From Aggressors"]

[Text] Iraq has invaded Kuwait, occupied its territory and installed a puppet regime.

This bombshell lobbed into the global community has brought into question not only the United Nations Charter and international law, but also that unwritten code which managed in some way to restrain aggressive nations from attacking their weaker neighbours.

By robbing Kuwait Saddam Husayn hoped to remedy his country's financial position, which had been undermined by the long war against Iran.

And, of course, he also wanted to demonstrate his country's military might, sending a message to his neighbours that they should think twice when dealing with Iraq.

Husayn has made it quite plain that all the conventionalities of our fragile and interconnected world mean nothing to him, that he turns his attention to them only when he sees benefits for Iraq.

Such conduct is not entirely surprising. What is more striking is the light-heartedness with which Iraq embarked on a serious violation of stability in the Persian Gulf, without fear of either immediate or more distant consequences of its move.

The so-called "smaller nations" make up the overwhelming majority of the 160 members of the UN.

Most have a small territory, small population and modest income, and, as a rule, do not maintain large armed forces.

Unanimity

Their hopes, in case of aggression, are pinned on the support of the international community rather than their own defence.

But if you actually think about it, who can protect a small and militarily weak country if it does not want to become a client of a more potent nation?

International law? The trouble is that this has been breached so many times in the past—by the great powers as well as less powerful countries—that one simply cannot speak of its efficiency.

International organisations, including the UN? The problem is that they do not have their own Armed Forces, and their members achieve unanimity very rarely. More often than not they are paralysed by debates and discussions.

There remains, however, a "code of conduct" of sorts in international relations. Although it has no written rules, it urges members of the international community to refrain from using force against smaller nations.

It is widely believed that a breach of that code cannot bring success to the transgressor.

So what are small countries supposed to do in such a situation? What can they hope for, if their stronger neighbour decides to set its affairs in good order at their expense?

The emergence of regional or sub-regional military machines, such as that in Iraq, should never be viewed with indifference.

Perhaps in the 1950's such a policy was justified by the dire realities of that time.

But today it is clear that the stockpiling of weapons in individual regions—and particularly in regions of tension—is both counter-productive and short-sighted.

It is essential, therefore, to give serious thinking to effective ways of punishing an aggressor.

Sanctions

The international community cannot and should not remain impartial when the very fundamentals of international peace are challenged in a callous and flippant manner.

But is has to devise means for doing so.

Sever sanctions should automatically be imposed on a country which has chosen the path of adventurism.

Suspending arms deliveries, freezing assets and announcing a trade blockade are merely a beginning.

Other sanctions should be considered, right down to expulsion from international agreements, which would deal a painful blow to an aggressor-nation and its economy.

Finally, it is essential to develop a set of guarantees for the integrity and independence of the smaller nations.

A nation which opts for aggression should not regard its size and relative military strength as an invitation to improve its own affairs at the expense of its weaker neighbours.

The time for reckless aggression in international affairs is past.

Force cannot ensure order and ultimately it should be used only for self-defence.

It is time to demonstrate that this lesson has not been lost on the international community, and that it can communicate this lesson to all of its members.

U.S. Goals, Options Viewed

PM2008222590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 90 First Edition p 4

[Article by Viktor Linnik under the rubric: "Correspondent Comments": "Arabic Crossword"]

[Text] New York—Two weeks have now passed since the United States began rapidly transferring the largest military contingent since the Vietnam war far beyond its own borders. There is no doubt that in terms of its firepower the current assault force in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf is already far superior to that possessed by the U.S. units that landed in Normandy.

But the more time goes on, the more insistent are the questions being asked both here—in the United States—and of course in the Arab world. What are the immediate and ultimate objectives of the U.S. assault force in the Persian Gulf? How long does it intend to stay there? These questions are being put by American officers and men to U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney, who is now carrying out his second trip to the Near East within the last two weeks. The secretary answers that the American military presence guarantees that "Iraq will pay a high price for an attempt to attack Saudi Arabia." The U.S. troops could be kept in the Arabian Peninsula for several months and possibly even years. President Bush has added to this that Iraq "threatens the American way of life." There is undoubted sense in this, given that automobile travel—and there are around 130 million vehicles in the country—is a very important part of the American way of life, and 50 percent of the petroleum consumed today in the United States comes to the country from the Near East.

But there are few experts here now who seriously believe that Iraq could dare to launch a frontal attack on Saudi Arabia in the current situation. The forces are too uneven. What choice remains to the U.S. strategists if the Iraqi attack scenario is excluded? Wait until the blockade that has been effectively started by the United States yields results? Drag out the time until Iraqis' discontent at its consequences leads to an explosion inside the country, an explosion that will sweep away Saddam Husayn? Or mount combat operations themselves and invade Kuwait, and then, possibly, Iraq too? What form should these operations take—air attacks or a "classic" land invasion? Here there is something to rack one's brains over, for every step is fraught with consequences that are difficult to predict.

Judging by the feverish pace of operation "Desert Shield," the administration is clearly inclined toward a military solution. But it is at the same time exhibiting caution, fearful, not without grounds, that overt U.S. intervention against Iraq will sharply alter the anti-Iraq sentiments which today predominate both in the Arab world and outside. Today only the Jordanian Parliament has supported Iraq. Tomorrow, with the possible mounting of U.S. combat operations, such shifts on the part of other Arab states too are not excluded.

The nature of the discussions currently under way at the UN Security Council allows the conclusion to be drawn that the international community is also not enraptured by purely military prescriptions for a solution to the Near East crisis. "Intervention, irrespective of which country carries it out, is contrary to the letter and the spirit of the UN Charter," UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar stated on this score, expressing in passing his displeasure that the United States interprets the sanctions introduced by the United Nations against Iraq as sufficient grounds for blockading it. Washington, which wishes to present its counteraction to Iraqi aggression as wholly in accord with international law, has to reckon with such assessments.

There is another question too which is being put to the U.S. President by the parents of the American hostages: What will happen to their nearest and dearest whom Baghdad is trying to use as bargaining chips in the Near East conflict? As is known, the Iraqi authorities have placed 35 Americans in the immediate vicinity of major military installations inside the country. The calculation is plain—in the event of American bombardment they will inevitably figure among the first casualties.

The Near East crisis has revived with new vigor the old arguments inside the country as to the presence of common sense in U.S. foreign policy: "We ourselves have created a monster that we are now forced to combat," Democratic Congressman L. Hamilton has stated. Meaning that just a few years back the United States actively supported Saddam Husayn in the Iran-Iraq war.

TASS Reports Further on Hijacking to Karachi

Passengers, Crew Released

LD2008161390 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladislav Legantsov]

[Text] Islamabad August 20 TASS—The passengers and crew of the Soviet Tu-154 airliner, hijacked to Karachi from Tashkent, have been released and their lives are no longer in jeopardy, a Soviet Consulate spokesman in Karachi told TASS by phone.

According to specified information, there were 29 passengers on board the plane. Eleven criminals who commandeered the airliner surrendered to Pakistani authorities.

The airliner was checked by Karachi Airport officials, refueled and prepared for a flight home.

According to local journalists, the hijackers apparently miscalculated by choosing Pakistan: Local laws envisage death penalty for the crime of hijacking.

Hijackers Request Asylum

LD2108080990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0652 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladislav Legantsov]

[Text] Islamabad, 21 Aug (TASS)—According to unofficial reports the hijackers of the Tu-154 Aeroflot airliner that made an emergency landing at Karachi Airport have asked the Pakistani authorities for political asylum. However this report has not been confirmed by a Pakistani Foreign Ministry spokesman.

Speaking about the incident he said the hijackers are at present being questioned. Hijacking, the spokesman noted, is subject to capital punishment in Pakistan.

The ministry official also noted that his government does not normally allow hijacked planes to land on its country's territory. "However, the Tu-154 was allowed to land as a sign of good will to the Soviet Union and also because there was little fuel left on board the aircraft," he stressed.

Hijackers To Be Extradited

LD2108064190 Moscow TASS in English 0634 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Irina Grebenyuk]

[Text] Tashkent, Uzbekistan, August 21 TASS—Eleven Soviet convicts who took over an Aeroflot Tupolev 154 airliner in Yakutiya, northeast Russia, on Sunday and hijacked it to Karachi, will be extradited to the Soviet Union by the Pakistani authorities, Gulyam Aliyev, deputy chairman of Uzbekistan's State Security Committee (KGB), told TASS today.

He said representatives of Soviet law enforcement bodies would leave for Karachi in the near future to collect the hijackers.

KGB Praised for Efforts

LD2108065790 Moscow TASS in English 0618 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Levin]

[Text] Tashkent, Uzbekistan, August 21 TASS Eleven Soviet convicts surrendered to Pakistani police on Monday after hijacking a Soviet airliner to Karachi.

The Aeroflot Tupolev 154, carrying 29 passengers and nine crew, returned to Tashkent in Soviet Uzbekistan on Monday night. None of the pasengers and crew were harmed. The hijackers are now in custody in Karachi.

Passengers nd the crew said the most difficult situation aboard the plane developed before leaving Tashkent on Monday morning, when two leaders of the gang began to argue over a crew replacement for flying abroad.

Kadyr Atabayev, inspector pilot of Uzbekistan's civil aviation department, said the convicts "thoroughly searched the new crew before they could enter the plane".

"The criminals were nervous, fearing possible tricks" from the authorities, he said.

"When the convicts ordered the crew to fly to Karachi, the pilots tried to explain that Karachi had refused permission to land, but the hijackers insisted.

"After consulting ground services, the crew activated a distress signal, and the plane flew to Karachi. The plane circled the Pakistani capital for about an hour and a half, denied permission to land. Only when the crew reported they were running out of fuel, was the landing allowed.

"After the landing, the plane was surrounded by troops. One of the convicts' leaders, Itskhakov, was the first to leave the plane. After brief negotiations, he handed in his arms, all the convicts left the plane and were immediately taken away."

The passengers and crew were taken to an airport building, where they could rest and eat. The plane was refuelled and, at its commander's request, was searched for explosives before leaving for Tashkent.

Soviet KGB Lieutenant-Colonel Anatoliy Savelyev described this operation as "the best" ever conducted by Soviet authorities.

"The KGB, the Interior Ministry, the Army and Aeroflot worked hand-in-hand," he said. "Many of the criminals' decisions had been imposed by the task force."

Savelyev told TASS that, despite the large number of hijackers, the task force had worked on a plane assault plan.

"The situation in Tashkent, when the criminals were already tired, was the most suitable for this," he said. "But concern about the passengers made the assault group cancel their plans. Practice has shown that, psychologically, an assault could "negatively affect the passengers."

"One of the passengers, Boris Kireyev, said the situation was "difficult", but he noted the criminals' "loyal attitude" to the passengers. "Their only demand was that everyone remain in their seats."

The plane's two air hostesses declined the hijackers' offer to leave the plane in Tashkent and remained aboard throughout the episode.

The plane will leave for Yakutsk, Siberia, at noon on Wednesday.

Force To Pick Up Hijackers

LD2108105690 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT 21 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Lev Levin]

[Text] Tashkent August 21 TASS—"A special group is being formed in the USSR, which will fly to Karachi today or on Wednesday to pick up 11 convicts who hijacked the Tu-154 USSR civil aviation airport to Pakistan, and bring them home," Viktor Antonov, who heads the task force for the return of the plane, told TASS.

He said that notes with threats to blow up the aircraft, which were handed over to the crew, a pistol and three automatic guns seized by the criminals and also witness testimony will be presented as evidence to the Pakistani side.

Task force members believe that the aircraft seizure was a planned action, the implementation of which became possible as a result of the flagrant violation of convict escort rules.

"There was a chance to disarm the terrorists both in Tashkent and Kranoyarsk," Antonov said. "Three anti-hijack squads were formed for this purpose. Specialists believe that the aircraft could be seized without bloodshed. However, considering that the criminals were armed, it was decided not to do it."

Those on the task force think that criminals Itskhakov and Yevdokimov, who conducted talks with the Soviet authorities, are not the main characters. They were only the executors. According to their version, one of those who was released from prison on the hijackers' demand and boarded the plane already after its seizure at Neryungri Airport, is the gang's ringleader.

All passengers of the aircraft uderwent medical examination and were accomodated at an Aeroflot hotel. They feel well. The aircraft will set off from Tashkent to Yakutsk today.

Pakistani Reportage on Aeroflot Hijacking

WA2108135890

For Pakistani reportage on the 20 August hijacking of an Aeroflot plane to Karachi please see the South Asia division, Pakistan section of the 21 August Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Pakistan Seen Ripe for Military Dictatorship

90UN04488 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Aug 90 First Edition p 5

["Observer's opinion" by V. Vinogradov: "Pakistan: Democracy in Jeopardy"]

[Text] When in November 1988 the Pakistan People's Party took over leadership in Pakistan as a result of general parliamentary elections, this fact was greeted with satisfaction by this country's neighbors. Benazir Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's Party, took office as prime minister and headed the second democratically formed government in Pakistan's history, replacing the 11-year rule of the virtually dictatorial regime of General Ziaul Haq.

However, the leadership of the country found itself in a very difficult position. It fulfilled few of its election promises, neither economic recovery nor the increased living standard of the needy strata of the population. As before, military spending "ate up" a substantial proportion of the budget. The foreign debt continued to grow. There were virtually no changes in Islamabad's Afghan policy. Merely a certain democratization of the country's social life could perhaps be put down to the credit of the B. Bhutto government. And the reason for its so slight effectiveness was undoubtedly the fact that the military top brass and the Muslim parties of the right supporting it retained powerful levers of pressure on the B. Bhutto cabinet, to which the latter could counterpose nothing.

All this led to a certain decline in the popularity of the country's new leadership, and its opponents, considering the moment opportune, decided to switch to the offensive. But the first such attempt to topple the government with the aid of a parliamentary vote of no confidence fell through. And then another method was set in train. Having accused the government of corruption and a violation of "provisions of the country's constitution and legislation," Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan announced the dissolution of the National Assembly (parliament) and B. Bhutto's dismissal as prime minister, and scheduled parliamentary elections for 24 October.

What can be said about this? The charges of corruption and violation of the "provisions of the constitution and legislation" are a threadbare method to which contending political groupings resort. True, on this occasion it was underpinned by highly impressive actions: Troops, which moreover occupied the television and radio buildings, the Information Ministry, and certain other government institutions, were brought into Islamabad. B. Bhutto evaluated the president's actions as "unconstitutional" and "lacking legal force." She declared that both she and her party were fully resolved to continue the struggle by participation in the upcoming elections.

I shall cite a few statements expressing concern at the fate of democracy in Pakistan. Thus U.S. State Department spokesman M. Tutwiler declared: "We firmly support the processes aimed at strengthening democracy in this country. But we are concerned at the possibility of their being interrupted." And a statement of the Afghan Foreign Ministry points out plainly that the dissolution of Pakistan's National Assembly and the dismissal of Bhutto as prime minister are "a challenge to democracy and a return to the times of General Ziaul Haq." What is happening in Pakistan, this document emphasizes, testifies to the profound crisis of its society, under whose conditions military reactionaries are attempting once again to gain access to direct control of the country or else install a dictatorship there.

I would not like such a gloomy forecast to come true....

Economic, Other Aid to Afghanistan Will Increase

PM2008141990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by G. Alimov: "Emergency Aid to Afghanistan?"]

[Text] AFP filed the following report 14 August: The Soviet Union has decided to grant the Kabul government extra emergency aid, including increased supplies of fuel and food.

According to the agency report, Moscow will, moreover, grant Afghanistan $300 million which will go to maintain the country's trade balance. This was reported by an official representative of the Afghan Government Tuesday [14 August]. In his words, this year the USSR will increase grain supplies to Afghanistan to 400,000 tonnes, that is, fourfold. Soviet fuel supplies to Kabul will increase ninefold—from 50,000 to 450,000 tonnes. This agreement was concluded in Moscow last week by participants of the ninth joint Soviet-Afghan Economic Commission.

Viktor Koptevskiy, chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Main Administration for Economic Cooperation with the Countries of Asia, whom we contacted, confirmed the fact that the agreements were concluded with Afghanistan last week. However, he said that they are not of such a nature as to be described as additional emergency aid. The decision to grant $300 million in financial aid was, according to him, made as early as 1987, but the funds had not been used since that time. "During the ninth joint Soviet-Afghan Economic Commission, in connection with the Afghan side's request, agreement in principle was given to their utilization, but only after clarification of the amount of Afghanistan's debt to the Soviet Union," Viktor Koptevskiy said.

He stated that the size of grain supplies does not correspond to what the agency reports. It is envisaged that 230,000 tonnes of grain will be supplied to Afghanistan this year in accordance with Soviet commitments, and an extra 10,000 tonnes under a UN heading as part of the provision of humanitarian aid to that country. Viktor Koptevskiy said that the Afghan side has requested that the supply of grain be increased by a further 100,000 tonnes, this request being under consideration.

As far as increasing Soviet fuel supplies is concerned, he observed that the figures were exaggerated. It is planned to supply 110,000 tonnes of aviation fuel this year under its commitments. True, the Afghan side has requested that an additional 50,000 tonnes be allocated. This request is also under study.

Asked what the Soviet side was guided by in signing these agreements, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations representative said that they are envisaged by documents at integovernmental level and are based on our country's principled stance vis-a-vis Afghanistan.

Do the signed agreements require assent in the relevant USSR Supreme Soviet committees and commissions? According to Viktor Koptevskiy, this is not required here, as the decision to provide financial support was made before the country's parliament directed that all questions concerned with granting financial aid and credit be examined with legislators.

"In the future all such agreements will be discussed without fail in the Supreme Soviet," Viktor Koptevskiy said.

Anatoliy Ananyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, whom we telephoned, commented on the situation as follows:

"Parliament is now in summer recess. Our committee will probably assemble for the first time in the new session at its sitting of 25-26 August. I am, however, unable to give any assessments or commentaries now. This has to be looked into. It is possible that this question will be the subject of examination at one of the sittings. It is not ruled out that a government spokesman will be invited to give appropriate explanations regarding the conclusion of these agreements, seeing that the situation in our country regarding fuel and finances is no better."

Soviet Trawler Detained Off Mauritanian Coast

Documents Confiscated

PM1508090490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by S. Lvov under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "Soviet Fishermen Held Hostage"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA received an alarming report from Kerch on the morning of Sunday 12 August: The crew of the Soviet fishing trawler "Sugan," attached to the "Kerchrybprom" Association, have been taken hostage off the coast of Mauritania.

A telegram signed by Kirpichev and Sarapina on behalf of the crew members states that on 6 August a warship used the threat of weapons to stop the Soviet vessel 18 miles north of the Mauritanian economic zone. Without drawing up a document or checking the coordinates, the Mauritanian Navy officers who came on board blocked the means of communication, confiscated the ship's documents confirming the trawler's true coordinates, and took two crew members hostage. Then the "Sugan" was compelled to proceed to the port of Nouadhibou. Not until three days later—9 August—did the USSR consul board the vessel. The "Sugan's" captain was arrested 8 August. Thirty-eight people are accommodated under guard in a local hotel, while 33 other Soviet fishermen remain on board. Their "stocks of fresh water are running out." In a telegram sent to the USSR president, to Central Television, and to IZVESTIYA the crew demand "state protection against piratical actions."

In short, the situation is critical. We will endeavor to report its details and the causes in the next few issues of IZVESTIYA. On Sunday, a nonworking day, we managed to ascertain just one thing through the duty officer at the Ministry of the Fish Industry: All the interested persons, including the USSR minister of the fish industry, have known about the troubles of the trawler "Sugan" from the very first day. The ministry is getting daily reports from Mauritania. A special commission will start working on the spot 13 August to investigate the causes of the conflict.

We will add for our part that the situation is not as simple as it might appear at first sight. If the Mauritanian side succeeds in proving that the Soviet trawler was fishing in forbidden waters, then accordingly our fishermen will be portrayed not as victims but as guilty persons. Of course, the newspaper is in no way endeavoring to influence the course of the juridical examination. But we would like to ascertain in the investigation of this conflict why, in the "best" traditions of past years, our citizens who find themselves in trouble seek protection and support not from their own ministry or from Soviet Foreign Ministry organizations abroad but again from the state's top official and the mass media. Maybe because the services of the Ministry of the Fish Industry move very slowly?....

Talks Held on Crew's Release

LD1608230690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2030 GMT 16 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] As we have already reported, the Soviet fishing trawler Sugan of the Kerch industrial fishing association was siezed by a Mauritian warship. The editorial office received a telegram from the captain of the trawler which reported that 38 members of the crew were taken hostage.

We asked (Shirayev), USSR deputy minister of fisheries, to comment on that situation, but he refused to speak in front of the camera. Therefore, we can only quote his verbal reply:

The vessel Sugan is riding at anchor in an internal roadstead of the port of Nouadhibou of Mauritania. The crew aboard this vessel is well. Captain Kirpichov has been placed under guard in a local hotel by the authorities. He has been moved away from his crew. He is well. Talks are being held on releasing the vessel and the crew. Taking part on the Soviet side are representatives of the vessel's owner and staff of ithe USSR Ministry of Fisheries mission in Mauritania and the Soviet Embassy. The Ministry of Fisheries and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR are monitoring that question [derzhat pod kontrolemn].

Well, that is how things stand with our hostages.

RSFSR Deputies on 'Goodwill Mission' to Iran

PM2108085590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by special correspondents A. Batygin and S. Oposhnyanskiy under the rubric "Journalists' Notebook": "City at the Foot of Elbrus"]

[Excerpt] Tehran-Moscow—[passage omitted] ...Soviet Russia and Iran established diplomatic relations in May 1920. And now a group of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies has arrived in Tehran on a goodwill mission at this difficult time for Iran. Apart from questions of material aid in connection with the earthquake that befell the country, the meetings involving the Soviet parliamentarians discussed the development of direct bilateral ties between the RSFSR and Iran, contacts between parliaments, universities, and institutions, and possible cultural exchanges. Gennadiy Gorelov, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, People's Deputies Vitaliy Kuzmin and Valentina Linkova, Izadi, director general of the Iranian Foreign Ministry European Countries Department, and other Iranian leaders talked about the great opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation. Mr. Izadi, in particular, stated the Iranian side's readiness for specific talks at any place and at any level.

We flew back to Moscow late at night together with Armenian rescue workers and doctors from the Red Cross and Red Crescent. Our new Iranian friends, firmly shaking our hands, thanked us for our help. [passage omitted]

Al-Gadhdhafi's Work To Be Published in Russian

LD2108083190 Moscow TASS in English 0811 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Tripoli August 21 TASS—The Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniya Publishers and the Green Book International Centre have reached an agreement to publish in Russian the second edition of Mu'ammar al-Gadhdhafi's Green Book in the Soviet Union.

At their meetings in Libya Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniya Publishing House Director Boris Likhanchev and the Green Book International Centre General Secretary Ibrahim Abjad also agreed to publish commentaries to Al-Gadhdhafi's works.

The agreement stipulates the holding of two scientific symposia under the watchword "On the Path to the New World: Perestroyka and the Third World Theory." The Green Book centre is also expected to participate in the Moscow International Book Fair and other such exhibitions in the USSR.

In the Green Book Al-Gadhdhafi sets out the third world theory of social development, ruling out both capitalist and communist paths, which was developed by him. The social system of jamahiriyah, the state of the popular masses, which is established in Libya, is based the provisions on this book.

Sudanese Political Conference on Islamic Law

EA1608081090 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 13 Aug 90

[Commentary by Vladimir Borisov from the "World Events Today" program]

[Text] The official name of this conference is: The National Conference on Sudan's Future Political System. However, neither the political parties banned a year ago nor the rebels fighting in the southern parts of the country are participating in the conference, the latter having been denied participation in this conference, which will be in progress for a long time. The conference, which is due to end on 21 October 1990, is to discuss the controversial Islamic shari'a law.

It is not a bad idea to hold such a conference on national issues, because it is the responsibility of the relevent authorities to call such a conference in order to find a just solution to the greatest disagreement between Muslims and Christians. It is worth recalling that it was because of the religious conflict in Sudan that the Christians and animists took up arms.

Gen 'Umar al-Bashir, the leader of the military junta, in an opening address to the conference, called for national negotiations on issues affecting the country. He said the country's political system should countenance all religions—Islam, Christianity, and the African traditional religions—so as to achieve national unity and equality. This, of course, appears to be an honorable move, but many observers believe that such a step would be found hard to implement.

'Umar al-Bashir has stressed that the country would not revert to the former political system of multiparty politics. He said that neither would there be a system based on a single party. He said the Sudanese could not benefit from either system, for both had proven to be useless. So what system should the country adopt? The country has had no political parties since 'Umar al-Bashir and his supporters usurped power a year ago. All political parties except the Islamic party were banned.

From time to time, the regime calls a conference or forms consultative committees and then takes political action as it sees fit. At other times, it simply turns down political solutions to the country's problems. The war in southern Sudan has neither ceased nor abated. On the contrary, it has escalated. To broaden its political base, the regime has legalized tribal private soldiers [dableyaasha] by calling them members of the people's defense force. It is not difficult to a discern a striking affinity between the National Islamic Front and this new defense force.

The government has suppressed the leaders of the banned trade unions and political parties. The regime has also purged government workers and soldiers. It will take a long time for the participants of this conference to arrive at resolutions able to satisfy the majority of Sudanese. Western analysts have said the conference, which, according to the government, was convened in the interests of the masses, has already cost $800,000. This is not a large sum considering the fact that the regime spends about $1 million a day on the war in the south of the country.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Township Violence Spreads Through South Africa

MB2008171290 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Comments by Moscow-based ANC representative Simon Makana on the violence in South African townships]

[Text] All progressive forces in South Africa are greatly perturbed by the continuing bloodshed in many parts of that country. Here are comments by the ANC [African National Congress] representative in the Soviet Union, Simon Makana:

[Begin Makana recording—in English fading into Zulu translation] The government realizes that without removing this sort of violence and tension, the creation of a good climate for future successful talks cannot be attained.

The bloodshed is now spreading from Natal to other parts of the country, including Johannesburg, where many have been reported dead in fighting between the Zulus and Xhosas.

We however think that it is the political violence inherent in the Natal region, that is now being exported to other parts of the country. We know that for many years Zulus and Xhosas have been living side-by-side peaceably in Natal. There are also many Zulus and Xhosas staying on the outskirts of the Transvaal, and they have been living together in peace for many years.

We, the ANC, say that those that are sowing discord among the two groups are evil, and can only be serving the interests of apartheid, and of the divide and rule principle. This is the action of the police, of those that do not want peaceful resolution of the problems of the people of South Africa. We feel that the ANC is right in saying that this issue should be tackled as a matter of urgency.

It is no longer a regional problem, confined to Natal. It is a national problem, and should involve all the people of South Africa, all those that are committed to peace. All our people, black and white, should unite against elements that hold back progress in South Africa.

Yanayev Receives South African Communist Leader

LD1608192290 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—Soviet Communist Party Politburo Member Gennadiy Yanayev today met South Africa Communist Party General Secretary Joe Slovo. The two men discussed the activites of their parties.

Slovo described the situation in South Africa and the work of his party following its legalisation and pointed out that the party ranks swelled and the party's prestige rose.

Yanayev reaffirmed the Soviet Communist Party's invariable solidarity with South African Communists and the African National Congress in their struggle against apartheid and for a non-racist, democratic South Africa.

The meeting was held in a warm and comradely atmosphere.

Mali Democratic Party Delegation Visits

PM1908195590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation from the Mali People's Democratic Union [UDPM] headed by F. Sissoko, member of the UDPM Central Executive Bureau, was in the USSR 3-16 August at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The UDPM representatives were familiarized with the CPSU's current activity. They had conversations at the CPSU Central Control Commission and at CPSU Central Committee departments.

The delegation traveled to Kiev and Simferopol.

East Europe

Goncz' Route to Hungarian Presidency Traced

PM1908184390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 90 Second Edition p 7

[Report by PRAVDA correspopndent V. Gerasimov "Portrait of Someone in the News": "Arpad Goncz"]

[Text] Budapest—Such unity has not been a particularly frequent occurrence during voting in the Hungarian parliament: 295 votes for, 13 against. By this almost unanimous result Arpad Goncz was elected president of the Hungarian Republic.

It was an extremely short path to the presidential chair for this 68-year-old representative of the Union of Free Democrats (SZDSZ). Following the March-April parliamentary elections, when the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] was victorious and a coalition of national Christian democrats was created, no one seemed to be contemplating the possibility of nominating representatives of the losing party—the SZDSZ—for state posts.

There was vigorous resistance. But there was also an undercurrent of sober reflection: Where would the mutual recriminations lead? They were condemned outside the country as well—by the parties and foundations that supported the changes in Hungary and wanted to see it stable. Recognizing this, both the Democratic Forum people and the Free Democrats agreed to a rapprochement and concluded a pact which gave them a solid majority—two-thirds of the votes in parliament.

It was as a result of this compromise that Arpad Goncz, translator, dramatist, chairman of the Writers' Union, and one of the founders of the SZDSZ, became chairman of the National Assembly. According to the constitution, in the absence of a president, the National Assembly chairman becomes temporary president. The MDF (contrary to what it has argued in the past) and the SZDSZ also made an agreement that the president of the republic would be elected not by a general direct popular ballot, but by a parliamentary vote.

But the presidential vicissitudes did not end there. It was not long before an independent deputy, with the support of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, dropped a bombshell by pushing for a national referendum on direct presidential elections. The Socialists were hoping to put forward their own candidate for the post, using several popular individuals. The ruling MDF and the opposition parties did their utmost to block the referendum and they prevailed.

The ancient coats of arms and the gilded coronation banners glinted in the spotlights in the majestic National Assembly building. After consultations involving chambers and factions, Arpad Goncz was nominated unopposed as president by 143 deputies (including Hungarian Socialist Party deputies). He is the fourth president in the country's history.

In the past three months Arpad Goncz has become a rather popular person. He has talked with G. Bush and with M.S. Gorbachev. He talks easily with workers and peasants and with the creative intelligentsia. He lives in a modest apartment and it is not yet known whether he will transfer to the presidential palace in Buda.

His life has been complex. He was involved in the Resistance. As a law student he was active in the Independent Smallholders' Party, which strongly opposed the Communists and Social Democrats in 1945, obtaining more than one-half of the votes at the elections. He once edited the party's paper. In 1948, when, to use the recent terminology, the "bourgeoisie was ousted and the dictatorship of the proletariat was established," he became a casual worker. Nevertheless, Arpad Goncz had the opportunity to study and he became an agronomist.

He was sentenced to life imprisonment for his involvement in the 1956 events. He mastered English in jail and, on being released under an amnesty, he found a new occupation—literary translation. He received a number of awards for literary activity. At the end of 1989 he was elected chairman of the Writers' Union.

In my view, what typifies the new president is his conciliatory approach. He is not prone to sudden "bursts of activity" and pushiness. To many he is "Uncle Arpi." Hungarians like to use affectionate diminutives when addressing elderly people. But he will have to find a balance and calm emotions. There are bound to be interparty clashes: The country is in an economic vice and the social tension is apparent.

Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Chairman Visits

PM2008150390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] G.I. Yanayev has had a meeting with Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Chairman G. Thuermer, who is in Moscow on a short working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The main theme of the friendly conversation was the exchange of information on the political situation in the Soviet Union and Hungary and the parties' priority activities at the present stage.

On the same day G. Thuermer met I.K. Polozkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee.

The participants in the conversations agreed to maintain comradely contacts between the CPSU and the MSZMP and to make an all-round contribution to steps in both countries aimed at strengthening good-neighborliness and equal mutual cooperation.

Relations Between Poles, Russians Surveyed

AU1708152890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11-12 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Report by Olga Iwaniak: "Mutual Opinions"]

[Text] The Public Opinion Research Center ran a survey at the end of May 1990 on the subject of Polish-Russian relations. Some 890 Poles, a representative sample of the nation, were polled. At the same time, the Moscow-based Center of Sociological and Political Research held a similar survey among 594 Muscovites.

Asked for their personal attitude vis-a-vis the Russians, 62 percent of the Polish respondents professed indifference, 44 percent claimed that the Poles do not like the Russians, and 38 percent said that the negative feelings are mutual.

In reply to the question "Do you like the Poles/Russians," 59 percent of the Russian respondents said "yes, rather," but only 21 percent of the Polish respondents did so. In reply to the question "What are the chief characteristics of the Russians," the most frequent replies from Polish respondents were: hospitality, kindness, openness, and goodness.

The Muscovites are more decided in their liking of the Poles, and are convinced that their nation likes Poland. Forty percent of the Muscovite respondents said that the Poles do not reciprocate these feelings to an equal degree. Twenty-three percent of the Polish respondents and the same percentage of the Russian respondents claimed that there is mutual friendship.

The Poles are rather reluctant to admit that Poland inflicted harm on Russia in the past. Fifty-eight percent of the Polish respondents said that Poland has never ever harmed Russia, and only 25 percent of Poles said that Poland has seldom harmed Russia. The Russians were also reluctant to admit that Russia has ever harmed Poland; 40 percent said that it has.

There were clear differences between the two nationalities concerning opinions on the subject of the entry of Soviet forces into Poland on 17 September 1939. Eighty percent of the Polish respondents and 45 percent of the Russian respondents agreed that this was an act of aggression against Poland and a violation of international law. The Russian respondents generally thought that the Red Army wanted to protect the Ukrainians and Byelorussians living in the eastern parts of the Polish Republic against the Germans, but the Poles disagreed with this view.

Asked who was responsible for the Katyn atrocity, 85 percent of the Poles said "the USSR." Forty-five percent of the Russians agreed. However, 1 percent of the Poles and 22 percent of the Russians said "I have never heard of Katyn and know nothing about it."

The respondents were also asked what feelings are conjured up by the words competition, planning, communism, socialism, and capitalism. On the basis of the replies given, one can conclude that Russians are more pro-socialist than the Poles. Sixty-one percent of them viewed socialism in positive terms, and 17 percent in negative terms. Opinions of capitalism and communism were similar, though communism caused more negative feelings.

As many as 87 percent of the Polish respondents firmly rejected communism, and 58 percent had a negative opinion of socialism.

State relations between Poland and the USSR did not cause any emotion among most of the Poles and Russians, but the Russians were more susceptible to extremist views.

Asked to assess the influence of Soviet authorities on Polish authorities in the past, 92 percent of the Polish respondents said that this influence had been "very great," and 76 percent of the Russians said it had been "considerable." Eleven percent of the Russians and 9 percent of the Poles said that this influence is still very great, and 78 percent of the Poles and 81 percent of the Russians said it was negligible.

Opinions about the mutual advantages of economic cooperation were less harmonious. Sixty-six percent of the Poles said that the Soviet Union was the chief beneficiary of this cooperation. Twenty-nine percent of the Muscovites said that neither country had benefited from this cooperation. Fifty-four percent of the Russians claimed, however, that Soviet-Polish cooperation had been beneficial "to Poland" or "both countries."

Many of the Poles supported the Warsaw Pact, though many said that it mainly serves Soviet interests, probably as a counterweight to German unification.

Asked whether the Warsaw Pact should be dissolved, 47 percent of the Poles said no.

Most of the Russians said that the Warsaw Pact serves the interests of all its members.

More Russians than Poles said that the Soviet forces in Poland should be withdrawn. Ten percent more Poles than Russians said these forces ought to stay.

The Poles and Russians were also asked who is the most popular politician out of Gorbachev, Jaruzelski, Yeltsin, Ligachev, Mazowiecki, Michnik, Ryzhkov, and Walesa. Tadeusz Mazowiecki turned out to be the most popular among the Polish respondents, and Boris Yeltsin the most popular among the Russians. Fifty-one percent of the Poles and 52 percent of the Russians said that they like Gorbachev. Thirty-three percent of the Poles and 52 percent of the Russians said they like Jaruzelski. But 51 percent of the Poles knew nothing about Yeltsin, and 34 percent of the Russians knew nothing about Mazowiecki. Ligachev turned out to be the least known Soviet politician among the Poles, and Michnik the least known Polish politician among the Muscovites.

West Europe

Finland Approves Extradition in Hijacking Case

LD2008204890 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Helsinki August 20 TASS—The Finnish Justice Ministry today decided to extradite Mikhail Varfolomeyev to Soviet authorities. He is accused of hijacking an Aeroflot jetliner to Helsinki.

Speaking at a news conference, Finnish Justice Minister Tarja Halonen stressed that before taking this decision, Finnish authorities took into account the rights of a person for legal protection, as well as an agreement between the USSR and Finland on joint measures to control air terrorism, providing for mutual extradition of people hijacking planes.

Varfolomeyev hijacked an Aeroflot plane, Tu-134, with 72 passengers which was making a flight between Tallinn and Lvov on last June 24.

Threatening to blast the jetliner, he ordered plane commander to fly to Stockholm. However, the crew landed the plane at the Helsinki-Vanta airport. Following this, Varfolomeyev surrendered to Finnish police.

The Finnish Interior Ministry rejected Varfolomeyev's request to grant him political asylum in Finland and refused to recognise him as a victim of political persecutions in the Soviet Union.

Then Varfolomeyev's case was transferred to the Finnish supreme court which confirmed the presence of legal grounds to agree with the Soviet demand to return the hijacker to the Soviet Union.

The date of extradition will be announced later.

FRG Banker on Western Support for Perestroyka

PM1708131690 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 19-26 Aug 90 p 13

[Interview with Deutsche Bank President Dr. F.W. Christians by Sergey Volovets; place and date not given: "Categorical Imperatives of the Deutsche Bank"]

[Text] Dr. Friedrich Wilhelm Christians, president of the council of West Germany's largest bank, is recognized as an expert in economics and finance. He thinks the following about the possibilities of financing perestroyka.

Q.: At a meeting of leaders of industrially advanced countries in Houston, two basic approaches for granting perestroyka economic aid were discussed. Some would prefer aid in the form of advice, others are ready for direct financial aid. Which side do you support?

A.: The approaches were different but the desire to help was unanimous. You have to realize that the US has to show some restraint because of congressional elections this fall. This imposes certain constraints on President Bush and the Administration doesn't have the necessary resources. As for England, after completing the tunnel linking it with the continent that country will retain its traditional thinking as an island. Therefore, the British government's resources are just as limited.

West Germany has always led the USSR's Western partners' list in terms of economic cooperation, as East Germany has among the CMEA [CEMA] countries. If a unified Germany becomes a reality, its role in economic cooperation with the USSR will continue to grow. There are also psychological aspects of closeness. I often hear criticism and advice given with the best intentions in the West, showing how vague their understanding is of the Soviet people, their history and the process of perestroyka today. But this dosen't mean that other Western partners may be left out. On the contrary.

Q.: There is much talk in the West about a likely large-scale aid package to the Soviet Union, resembling the Marshall Plan for postwar Europe. What do you think?

A.: At one time the Marshall Plan was of great use to the countries razed to the ground during the war. But the situation in the Soviet Union is more complex. After the war it was sufficient for America, with its vast financial resources, to grant the FRG and other countries a lavish financial aid. But we elaborated and realized our own conception of postwar rehabilitation. When I say that the situation in the USSR is different I mean that it is a great power, a major political formation bordering on Europe and Asia. It is a proud nation as to historical traditions and a nation-victor which sustained the heaviest casualities during the war. To make myself clear, I can say that the highest possible amounts of dollars, marks and francs won't solve the Soviet Union's problems, because they are so numerous.

For effective aid we need a comprehensive concept of development, including finances, cooperation and consultations, but based on political equality. This programme naturally will call for much patience since it is the greatest task ever faced by the world economy. We Germans think it unprecedented to update the GDR economy, although it cannot be compared with the Soviet Union's problems.

Q.: Dr. Christians, here is a test for you, an economic and financial expert. Your Soviet colleagues—optimists—say that the country's economy is on the brink of an abyss. Pessimists think that it has long been falling. What's your opinion?

A.: Indeed there is a might psychological factor operating in the economy. It is hard for pessimists to lead people to the goal, but optimists must set themselves aims that can be realized. You can't work in economics without being an optimist.

Q.: What is your attitude towards free economic zones?

A.: It can't be just positive or negative. Because the areas and conditions envisaged for such zones vary. I can hear voices trying to convince me that the whole of the Soviet Union must change over to methods of economic management corresponding to such zones. A kind of competition has started. As far as I can understand, Russia believes that its vast territory must become a free economic zone. At any rate, the dynamic which was missing has appeared.

Q.: You have been to the USSR many times. What are the Deutsche Bank's interests in this country today?

A.: The main event was the long-planned visit to the Kaliningrad region. By the way it also intends to become a free economic zone. I think we must pass from words about a common European home to practical work. The peculiarities of this region enable it to become a bridge between East and West. Unfortunately, for a long time the central government in Moscow did not regard this idea sympathetically. Finally, a small delegation from the Deutsche Bank (because we receive many offers from German companies wishing to participate in the development of the region) went there. We have not signed any contracts but have outlined common aims.

This encounter with Kaliningrad was a special emotional experience for me. I saw Koenigsberg as proof of what hostility between nations can do. After 45 years we must leave that period behind and reach real reconciliation—something which we are capable of.

Koenigsberg was the birthplace of the great philosopher Immanuel Kant who lived a long and fruitful life there. Now it becomes possible to revive Kant's legacy in the interests of the Russians and Germans, also of all Europeans. I know that a Kant foundation is going to be established in Kaliningrad. Its activity will help make this city not only a zone of free exchange of goods but also of ideas.

There is another practical proposal: June 22, 1991, will mark the 50th anniversary of the German invasion of the USSR. At that time I was among those troops and saw Koenigsberg in ruins. Now I have seen new Kaliningrad. Let's make June 22 in this city a memorial day.

West German Credit Takes 'Ill Turn' in USSR

90UF0450A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with FRG economics official by special correspondent Ye. Savishchev in Bonn; date not given: "Have We Taken in Order To Immediately Give Back?"]

[Text] The five billion in credit granted the Soviet Union by West Germany will obviously soon be returned to the FRG. This money will be used mainly to pay off the debts of our enterprises to their partners from the Federal Republic.

West Germany is one of our country's biggest trading partners in the West, even in spite of the difficult situation which the Soviet economy is currently experiencing. What do our West German partners think about the state and prospects of cooperation with the Soviet Union? Our correspondent in Bonn interviewed Dr. Lorenz Schomerus [name as published], chief of the Foreign Economic Policy Department of the FRG's Federal Economics Ministry.

[Schomerus] There are today a number of difficulties holding back the ongoing growth of Soviet-West German cooperation. In my view a most serious problem is that the reform in the Soviet economy is not yet attracting businessmen, for they wish to invest money in projects whose realization is profitable. They are trying in every possible way here to clear away the bureaucratic impediments and petty tutelage, from which the Soviet economy suffers greatly at the present time. A second, no less important, problem, in my view, is that Soviet enterprises still lack specialists who know how to think in market economy categories. And, third, the system of the provision of Soviet enterprises with raw material and semimanufactured commodities is still far from perfect, to put it mildly.

[Savishchev] A number of mixed Soviet-West German enterprises have been formed in recent years, but even such major companies as Siemens and Liebherr and the Otto trading concern, not to mention dozens of smaller ones, are not displaying that much optimism about the future.

[Schomerus] A serious impediment is the fact that Soviet enterprises with the right of outlet onto the Western market suffer from a serious foreign currency shortage. We have already expressed a number of proposals in respect of a reduction in this. But the solution of these questions will take time.

[Savishchev] Quite recently the Soviet Union obtained five billion in credit from the FRG. To what purposes, in your view, could these resources be put to achieve the maximum effect?

[Schomerus] First, even in terms of its amount and structure the credit is unusual. It is not tied either to investments in industry or specific projects. In my view, such credit should be an exception. And in the future both parties should endeavor to use credit for realization of the most promising projects. But on this occasion we are doing our relations a well-meant ill turn by pumping in such large-scale currency resources without specifying actual spheres of their application. At the same time we welcome the credit itself. After all, it has enabled Soviet enterprises to solve to a considerable extent problems of indebtedness to West German suppliers.

[Savishchev] The pace of German unification is increasing. There are in the present-day GDR sufficient economic problems which can be solved only at West Germany's expense. Will this not lead to a cutback in a united Germany's ties to the USSR?

[Schomerus] I do not think so. For the Soviet Union a united Germany will be a more attractive and substantial partner. After all, it will inherit the entire volume of economic relations which the FRG and the GDR had in the past. And the Soviet Union, which is currently effecting a transition to a market economy, will also here be a profitable partner for a united Germany.

At the same time your country and the other East European states will have to undertake highly complex structural transformations of the economy. And this means that a disruption of relations between enterprises which have already taken shape will inevitably await you under the new conditions.

In the course of discussion Mr. Schomerus cited not a single specific large-scale project. Why?

Representatives of the FRG's business world understand full well that all our domestic problems will quickly be reflected in foreign economic relations. The USSR's reputation as a punctual payer has been shaken somewhat on account of nonpayments on the part of Soviet enterprises which have acquired the right of independent outlet onto the foreign market. The latest five billion in credit has most likely improved the situation somewhat. To what extent? It is hard to say. At least, the former zeal in the FRG business world is not observed currently. West German businessmen are awaiting results.

Political & Social

Soviet Citizenship Restored to 23 Exiles

PM1908131390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by S. Mostovshchikov: "Restored to Soviet Citizenship"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA No. 229 reported that by presidential decree A. Solzhenitsyn, V. Aksenov, V. Voynovich, V. Chalidze, V. Korchnoy, and O. Rabin have been restored to Soviet citizenship. The above-mentioned decree restored Soviet citizenship to a total of 23 of our compatriots who are at present abroad.

Today we have the chance to supplement this list.

Thus, V. Tarsis, I. Shakhnazarova, N. Solzhenitsyna, M. Voslenskiy, G. Vins, I. Glagolev, Yu. Novikov, L. Kopelev, R. Orlova (Kopeleva), G. Vladimov, I. Shelkovskiy, M. Reemets, Yu. Orlov, I. Ratushinskaya, I. Gerashchenko, A. Koryagin, and N. Rudenko have been restored to Soviet citizenship.

Yakovlev Talks on Rehabilitation

LD2008215690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Talk by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, member of the Presidential Council; place and date not given; video shows Yakovlev seated in an armchair; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] Just the other day, the president of the Soviet Union published two decrees which are of fundamental political significance. The first is on the restoration of the rights of all those who suffered repression in the twenties, thirties, forties, and fifties, and the second is on the abolition of those decrees of past years which deprived people of citizenship for dissidence or, to be more precise, for freedom of thought. These acts are acts of justice, but in my view, they are also acts of a certain repentence.

Long ago, the great philosopher Kant wrote that there are two prejudices: to believe nothing and to believe everything. But then again, he wrote that there are also mysteries: the starlit sky above us and the moral law within us. Well, according to the moral law, our society, which is transforming itself into a free society—as yet only in the process of transforming itself—has to overcome prejudice, intolerance, an artificial struggle, and the obstructions of falsehood. As they say, truth takes the direct path and you cannot go wrong with it. But comprehension of the past is not a legal trial and we also must all remember this. Otherwise it will be a mirror-image of the atmosphere of fear of years gone by.

When we say we are rehabilitating somebody, as it were, graciously forgiving them for certain errors of past years, all this, it seems to me, smacks of hypocrisy. It is not them that we are forgiving but ourselves. It is we who are to blame for the fact that they lived for years, slandered and crushed. And we are rehabilitating ourselves and not those who thought differently from us, or who had other thoughts or convictions. They wished us merely good and freedom, but the state responded with the evil of the prisons and camps.

It is already hard for us all today, as we so hungrily breathe in the air of freedom, to grasp in our minds what it was that happened long and not so very long ago.

Hundreds of thousands of warped lives, of people shot and dead, of suicides, of people who did not know of what they were guilty and who were wiped out merely because they felt pain for their own country with particular acuteness: This is not a reproach for us all, but a tough reminder to those who still remain sick with nostalgia today, who would like to step backward, perhaps scared of the future, of what is to come.

I would draw special attention to the tragic fate of our peasantry, which paid such a bloody price for the crimes of the Stalinist regime. This unprecedented violence against the tillers of the soil not only undermined the structure of society, but also brought into crisis the very development of the state. History had, strictly speaking, never before seen such concentrated misanthropy.

The other decree is close to the first in essence. Both reflect the devilish dances of terror. The accusations used to persecute, imprison, and exile people from the country seem essentially ridiculous today, but they compel one to ask a multitude of awful questions. After all, it all took place. That is what is terrible. And it happened quite recently, only a few years ago.

What can be found in the following words by Galanskov? I have no need of your bread, mixed with tears. I fall and take flight, half delirious, half asleep, and I feel how the human awakens within me.

And the author was tried. There is no one, or practically no one, left from the courts of the twenties to forties, either.

But there are still many from the period of so-called dissidence who bear open sores, sores of conscience and responsibility. How willingly many of those who are still alive and thriving today falsified cases in those days, sent people to trial and exile, criticized them, wrote exposes and collective letters and anonymous letters filled with hatred.

Where are they? They are all with us. They are all among us. And judging by the present political activity, they are in complete harmony with the conscience.

Preserve me, Almighty, from calls for vengeance, from a new round of intolerance. But society must know their names and deeds in order to assess them according to moral criteria. I repeat, moral.

The decrees of the president are acts of charity, too, of which our society has such a great need today, fully realizing everything conceivable and inconceivable.

And it is appropropriate to talk of another thing today in connection with these decrees of the president—how far has our society come in the difficult comprehension of truth, good, and humanism.

Thank you for your attention.

Solzhenitsyn's Wife Comments

PM1708212790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Natalya Dmitriyevna Solzhenitsyna, wife of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, by correspondent V. Linnik, and telephone conversation with G.G. Cheremnykh, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat Department on Questions of Citizenship and Pardons, by correspondent A. Boldinyuk under the rubric "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow"]

[Text] **Vermont on the Line**

New York, 17 Aug—The reason for my telephone conversation with Natalya Dmitriyevna Solzhenitsyna, as the reader will guess, was the recent USSR presidential decree restoring citizenship to a group of people deprived of it during the period beginning in 1966. A report on this has been broadcast here on radio and television channels and it has been widely covered in the American press. The American mass media inferred that the decree applies to Nobel Prizewinner Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

"I was particularly indignant," N.D. Solzhenitsyna said, "at the article that appeared on this subject in which Gennadiy Cheremnykh (chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat Department on Questions of Citizenship and Pardons—editorial note) claims that contacts at a 'pretty high level' took place with Solzhenitsyn. The article appeared in IZVESTIYA. Aleksandr Isayevich had no such contacts at all with officials in any form. It is quite incomprehensible that the newspaper should undertake to publish a deliberate lie. I told this to American correspondents, who have been ringing here, to Cavendish, Vermont, all day today. I would like PRAVDA's readers to know this too.

"As far as the substance of the presidential decree is concerned—and I am here speaking as Solzhenitsyn's press relations representative and convey the actual writer's opinion—he considers that it does not apply to him. The point is that, as distinct from the other 23 people concerned with the USSR president's decision, according to the press, two decrees were passed against Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn—deprivation of citizenship and expulsion from the country. Both decrees were passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium," the wife of the writer went on. "Moreover, Aleksandr Isayevich was charged with treason (Article 64 of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Criminal Code). This was done on February 13, 1974, by Malyarov, who was then the deputy prosecutor general of the USSR, in the presence of a further five people, each of whom was of a rank not inferior to colonel. So there should be witnesses to how in actual fact this took place. Solzhenitsyn signed no documents at all during this.

"In any civilized country," N.D. Solzhenitsyna said, "the president has the right to pardon someone condemned by a court. But he is not entitled to remove the charge as such. In Solzhenitsyn's case the proceedings ended with the bringing of a charge, the passing of two decrees, and his forcible expulsion from the country under the escort of eight men. The procedure adopted in a normal rule-of-law state, in the opinion of the writer, should consist of, first, the lifting of the charge made by USSR Prosecutor's Office, which clearly only the Prosecutor's Office itself can do.

"Second, the 1974 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees exiling him from the country and stripping him of his citizenship can clearly only be abrogated by the present Supreme Soviet, as the legal successor of the then Supreme Soviet. It is clear that such decisions, if adopted, should be made public in some form or other in the same way that the 1974 decrees were.

"And it is offensive when you read what appeared in IZVESTIYA. How much longer are we going to be so stupid and continue to lie as of old?" N.D. Solzhenitsyna concluded.

Your correspondent A. Boldinyuk contacted G.G. Cheremnykh, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat Department on Questions of Citizenship and Pardons. This is what he said:

"It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the work of restoring Soviet citizenship to representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia who have been unjustifiably deprived of it. Not just on the the level of restoring legality and justice but also in developing the positive processes under way in our country. This is the answer to the demands of many Soviet people, people's deputies, and public organizations that all questions concerning this problem be solved as quickly as possible. I will not conceal the fact that the bulk of the letters are about the restoration of USSR citizenship to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. He is known and remembered in this country and people really want the restoration [of his citizenship]. As far as the decision of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn to accept Soviet citizenship and return home is concerned, that, as I understand it, is a personal question for Aleksandr Isayevich—only he can decide it. There are no more obstacles to this. In speaking of contacts with the writer on these questions, I made use of information available to me. I can only repeat once again that there were contacts with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn on these questions, but the decision remains nevertheless up to the writer.

"If you assume that there were no such contacts and no agreement by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn to the restoration of his Soviet citizenship, what does this change? Should the illegal act passed against him really not have been repealed in that case? The answer is obvious—of course it should. I can also talk about the assessment of the decrees previously adopted on the deprivation of citizenship. An assessment has been given. Back in November 1989 the USSR Supreme Soviet passed a special resolution on this question, describing the decrees as unjust and illegal. This document is available for widespread use by people, and it is a pity that we are commenting on it in the mass media only today."

Moscow TV Marks Anniversary of Trotskiy's Death

LD2008210190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2010 GMT 20 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Half a century has passed since NKVD agent Ramon Mercader struck Lev Trotskiy a fatal blow in the head. The murder weapon was an ice-pick. For this act, Ramon Mercader was later awarded the gold star of a Hero of the Soviet Union. Trotskiy's ideas, however, outlived their author and Stalin, refuting them in word, used Trotskiyism to assert a totalitarian system of power in the country and in the party. In the days of the revolution, Trotskiy was a very close comrade in arms of Lenin.

Society for Soviet Germans Opens Conference

LD1808181590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1019 GMT 18 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Kulikov]

[Text] Moscow 18 August [dateline as received]—The constituent conference of the Russian Society of Soviet Germans [Rossiyskoye Obshchestvo Sovetskikh Nemtsev] opened in Moscow today. The society will uphold the interests of the 842,000 Soviet Germans who live and work in Russia. The society intends to get the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic restored within its former boundaries.

Aims of Soviet German 'Autonomy'

LD1808102390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Interview with G. Wormsbekhr, Revival [Vozrozhdeniye] society cochairman, by correspondent D. Motrich in Moscow; date not given; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer Mitkova] The conference of the Soviet Germans' society Revival should have finished today but its work has been extended for another day. Its aim is autonomy but it is not yet known how this may be attained.

[Wormsbekher] ...the inclusion of elements to which there is no solution. We do not believe the country's leadership is ready to resolve this issue and as a result we have become disillusioned with perestroyka. Alas, for the majority this is (?just a step) of desperation. [video shows Wormsbekher addressing conference]

[Motrich] Do you think the number leaving the Soviet Union increase or decrease after this conference?

[Wormsbekher] If the FRG increases its willingness to accept them then there could today be a catastrophic number of emigrants.

[Motrich] That means that there is only one possible salvation, one way out of the crisis—autonomy?

[Wormsbekher] I consider this to be so.

[Motrich] It is said that many conference delegates have applied to the FRG Embassy to leave.

[Wormsbekher] I cannot with certainty say that this is the case. I do not have any specific information. I have also heard about this. I admit that it is possible. The fact of the matter is that as long ago as the second conference, many delegates at the second conference in January demanded mass emigration. The people's desperation is really great. For 50 years nothing was done and during the five years of perestroyka nothing has been done either.

[Motrich] So no real ways out of the crisis have been found yet. Perhaps they will be found at the congress of Soviet Germans in October. But for the time being more and more people are leaving. We are losing hands, we are losing minds. More than 100,000 have already left. Surely it cannot be that our country does not need two million Soviet Germans.

Decides Against 'Mass Emigration'

LD1708175790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] The conference in Moscow of Revival [Vozrozhdeniya], the All-Union Society of Soviet Germans, has ended. A decision has been made, a common decision. It has been decided to refrain from mass emigration and to continue the struggle to restore the consitutional rights of the people that were illegally repressed.

The participants spoke out in favor of the need for the reconstruction of an autonomous republic of Germans on the Volga with its former borders, while rejecting the idea of the creation of an association with the rights of autonomy as a version of statehood.

The adopted resolution contains a number of demands to the country's leadership for the soonest settlement of the problem.

It is intended to hold a congress of Soviet Germans in the fall.

Urges Re-Creation of Republic

LD1808161890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The third extraordinary conference of the Revival [Vozrozhdeniye] All-Union Society of Soviet Germans ended in Moscow today. Its participants urged the need to re-create the autonomous republic of Germans on the Volga within its former boundaries. [video shows correspondent N.Kvashenkina]

[Kvashenkina] The population of Soviet Germans in our country numbers over two million. Lately, however, the stream of Germans leaving the Soviet Union has considerably increased. Last year, 105,000 Germans left the country, and according to sociologists' forecasts 135,000 are expected to leave this year.

The suppression of their literature and history for many, many years, vanished traditions, and a forgotten language have been among the serious reasons for the mass departure. Genrikh Grout, chairman of the all-Union Vozrozhdeniye society, considers that the re-creation of an autonomous republic of Germans in the Volga valley is the only possibility on an official and constitutional basis for ensuring the cultural, legal, spiritual, and economic future of the German people.

The idea of re-creating the republic of Germans in the Volga valley has met with an equivocal and at times negative reaction among the local population. In the existing situation that was discussed by the participants of the conference it has not been easy to find the right solution, refrain from mass immigration and continue the struggle for restoration of the constitutional rights of the illegally repressed people. [video shows delegates at conference and interview with G.G. Grout, chairman of the Revival All-Union Society of Soviet Germans]

[Grout] Hopes are mounting for the restoration of our autonomy. There is above all the hand that we feel has now been extended from the Russian parliament. We received yesterday an official letter from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, which speaks of the readiness of the Supreme Soviet to occupy itself without delay with solving this problem.

'Emergency' Conference Viewed

LD2008090190 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] The Society of Soviet ethnic Germans, Vozrozhdeniye [Revival], held an emergency conference in Moscow last week. Addressing the conference, chairman of the House of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Rafiknishanov, spelled out the position of President Gorbachev to the effect that the restoration of the German autonomy on the Volga River, abolished in 1941, is at present impossible and some other ways of dealing with the German problem will have to be sought. One of them is to form an extra-territorial association of ethnic Germans. However, most delegates to the conference did not support the idea. Addressing a news conference, the chairman of Vozrozhdeniye, Heinrich Grout, said that the issue of the autonomy will be pressed by the society. He also said that the society will continue to extend technical assistance and legal advice to the Germans leaving the USSR, propagate the ideas of Soviet ethnic Germans abroad, and engage in other undertakings.

Statehood for Soviet Germans Viewed

90UN2617A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 11 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Gugo Vormsbecker, cochairman of the Revival (Vozrozhdeniye) All-Union Society of Soviet Germans, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "The Problems Are Solvable"]

[Text] [SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Gugo Gustavovich, much has been written and said about the Soviet Germans in recent years. Their problems in general are well known: the long inequality and discrimination, and loss of national culture and native language. Their main demand is well known also: restoration of the autonomous republic in the Volga region unlawfully liquidated in 1941. However, there is still no visible result in a solution of this question. How would you assess the situation that has now taken shape around the problem of the Soviet Germans?

[Vormsbecker] Truly, more has been said about the Soviet Germans in the past two or three years than in all the previous 47. Naturally, their long-standing hope of restoration of their statehood has seemed very close to realization also. And everything has been moving in this direction, seemingly: A commission of the Soviet of Nationalities was formed, it prepared its proposals, and the USSR Supreme Soviet agreed with them and instructed the USSR Government to form a commission for their practical implementation. This commission—the State Commission for Problems of the Soviet Germans—was formed this January.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] The scant information about its work, however, is giving rise to more questions than it is providing answers.

[Vormsbecker] Of the commission's 28 members, six are representatives of Soviet Germans, and we have from the very outset submitted several, in my view, important proposals. Primarily that the commission's main task be restoration of the statehood of Soviet Germans. However, even now, six months on, we have made no headway here. For the solution of what problems was this commission formed, one wonders, if not the solution of the main problem of the Soviet Germans? We also insisted on the maximum glasnost surrounding the commission's work. The result, however, has been the opposite: It is difficult to imagine even that less could have been said about our work than is known now from the newspapers. For this reason nothing is now known not only about the tough arguments in the commission but even about the very substantial work on programs of the development of culture, education, and the training of national personnel for the Soviet Germans.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] But there have to have been reasons for this?

[Vormsbecker] They are sometimes linked with the personality of Commission Chairman V.K. Gusev. Of course, his position—that talking today about a restoration of the German ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] on the Volga is impermissible since this could give rise to new protests there—plays its part. But it would be naive to suppose that a person was appointed commission chairman who does not reflect the opinions and does not fulfill the instructions of those who appointed him. Why was the Soviet of Nationalities commission formed? To determine six months later that Soviet Germans want a restoration of their statehood? This was known long ago and without any commission. Why in the USSR Supreme Soviet decree of 28 November 1989 was nothing said about the actual proposal of this commission it had resolved to "agree"? Why did this decree not define the specific task of the state commission? Who, on behalf of the country's highest organ of power, is playing hide-and-seek with whom? And why has this highest organ of power in the country still not displayed an interest in how its decree is being fulfilled and has not brought clarity to bear here?

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] But is a decision on the question of restoration of the German ASSR on the Volga not being dragged out because the population there is against it?

[Vormsbecker] But who has disposed this population "against"? And who has afforded the time and opportunity for disposing it "against"? And why is it "against"? Who, at all, has attempted if only to explain to this population what German autonomy would do for it?

I am profoundly convinced that a German ASSR on the Volga could have been restored. And could be restored today. But for this it is necessary that the leadership of the country want this and seriously involve itself in this. Then the forms and the methods and the means would be found, then the "local population" also would be "for."

Meanwhile, however.... The revived hopes of Soviet Germans have been dashed yet again, and their faith in perestroyka has been undermined, and for almost half of them their native soil is now "over the hill and far away"—as an inward decision or as a fait accompli—and with their departure the state is losing hundreds of thousands of skilled, conscientious workers and, with them, tens of billions of rubles. Or has lost....

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] When there has been talk of the Soviet Germans of late, the word "association" almost always creeps in. What is meant by it?

[Vormsbecker] The CPSU Central Committee platform on the nationality issue envisaged the possibility of the creation of central national councils for national groups lacking their own territorial autonomy. Although we were at that time raising the question of the restoration of our statehood, we proposed in the course of a solution for our question that this provision be extended to the Soviet Germans also. Why? The Soviet Germans—that is, 2 million persons!—have for almost 50 years now had not a single official body to represent and defend their interests. A central council as a national government consisting of representatives of all the Soviet Germans democratically elected by the people themselves could be such a body. It is not only sorely needed today in order to professionally and competently and with the necessary authority engage in a solution of the main question—restoration of the statehood of the Soviet Germans and a revival of national culture and language. It will also be needed following the restoration of our statehood because even then the majority of Soviet Germans will still have to live for many years outside of the autonomous republic, scattered throughout the country, and the autonomous republic will not be in a position to solve many of their questions—if only because its prerogatives will be confined to its territory. The central council could, finally, afford Soviet Germans the opportunity to resolve their problems themselves. That doing this without them is a complete waste of time is shown by all the last 50 years.

The proposal concerning the creation of a central council was examined and returned to us in even broader form: It was proposed that we create an association of Soviet Germans, hold a congress, and elect the central council at it. True, this was proposed initially instead of territorial autonomy—the Volga situation, even at the top, evidently, at that time seemed hopeless. We, naturally, did not agree to this and set the condition: not instead of territorial autonomy but as a step en route to it and as an instrument for the solution of this question also. Our condition was accepted, and an organizing committee has now been formed for preparing the congress, and it includes many leaders of the "Revival" society: six members of its presidium out of the nine together with the society chairman.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] However, I have yet to encounter a positive response to the association idea.

[Vormsbecker] I would cite several reasons here. First, practically no one as yet knows anything about what is meant by association. An association would mean the unification, alliance of all Soviet Germans. With a leadership with the official status of national government and with its own established authorities in the center, locally it would be able, of course, to do far more than a public organization—our "Revival." However, people, unaware of what is being offered them, cannot, naturally, approve this. Second, the idea of an association is being rejected in the belief that it is being offered in place of territorial autonomy. Nor can today's situation be disregarded: Territorial autonomy should have been proclaimed long ago, but people are still talking here about some association, albeit as a means of achieving this autonomy.

Many people are worried that an association is, possibly, being offered in order to deprive us of our organization—our "Revival." In actual fact, the association is to be an all-embracing organization, and both "Revival" and other public organizations, which are still to be formed, would be able to operate more efficiently within its framework.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Gugo Gustavovich, permit me, however, to quote from one document. "No, we will struggle, as before, without portfolios, offices, money and such like! But even more radically (this is what it says!), without servile submissiveness, to which each of us has for half a century consistently become inured. Let our opponents not take comfort from the thought that with the creation of an obedient 'association' they will be able to slumber quietly in the smart offices of a still-born organization, feigning concern for our long-suffering people." Recognize it?

[Vormsbecker] Indeed...

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] After all, you have said that the chairman of "Revival" also is a member of the organizing committee for preparation of the congress of Soviet Germans. He should, consequently, also be for the "association"? Why, then, does he write this way in his "Open Letter to Soviet Germans"? And, further. He says in an interview with TRUD of 13 July this year: "It is at the third, special conference... that we will adopt... a decision on the mass departure of Russian Germans abroad." Such a decision also is, in my view, incompatible with the idea of an association and "Revival" also, come to that. Or have I misunderstood something or other?

[Vormsbecker] You have touched on quite a painful topic for us. Today I may say only that neither the "Open Letter to Soviet Germans" nor the assertion that our next conference will call on all Germans to leave the country have been discussed or adopted either by the presidium of the "Revival" society or its coordinating council.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] But are there not indeed grounds for fearing that Soviet Germans will agree to an association, but that they will subsequently be given no territorial autonomy?

[Vormsbecker] It cannot, certainly, be ruled out that there might have been or are such intentions among some people. Of course, this "representative of the people" or the other may in principle be fooled or bribed, an entire organization may be fooled or bribed, but it is naive to suppose that a people can be fooled, the more so if the association is formed. But some kind of fate prevails over our country! It stubbornly pulls away those whom the latter needs and who want to work for its good!

Nonetheless, I believe that our question can be settled. The driving forces with an interest in this are already very powerful: the economic benefit to our state (we will confine ourselves to this aspect), the political interests of the German-speaking countries, and the vital interests of 2 million Soviet Germans.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] The driving forces are indeed powerful. However, toward what should they be directed? How do you see a specific way out of the situation, which appears, to be candid, deadlocked?

[Vormsbecker] People want to portray it as being deadlocked, but it is not such. In my view, all this will depend on those who head these forces and who become the real spokesmen for the interests of their country and their people. They should not be confrontational but, not losing a single minute, should sit down at the working table and together find a solution acceptable to all. No one will find this in isolation.

If the Union leadership has for five years been unable to decide this question, it is most likely necessary to examine it at a more effective level. I refer to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. It is Russia, in my view, that has the most interest in the restoration on its territory of the statehood of the Soviet Germans. It is it which has the decisive say here. And it is in Russia that the Soviet Germans want once again to have their autonomy. So it is with Russia that we should begin our practical discussion.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] But restoring the German ASSR on the Volga today is, as your "Revival" colleagues also acknowledge, impossible. Are there, in your view, other options?

[Vormsbecker] What is impossible given one approach is possible given another. I repeat: Our autonomy can be restored there. But I personally believe that this should no longer be done. For several reasons. But before citing them it is necessary to say once again what we want.

We are a people different both from the other Soviet peoples and from the other German peoples: We have our own history, our own culture, and our own language to a large extent. And our goal is continuation as a people. For this we need to revive our culture and language and our national traditions and customs, for which, in turn, the majority of us must be assembled in one place, that is, acquire sufficient territory. We must on this territory have an opportunity to resolve our problems ourselves; that is, we need our statehood. And good relations with the people of other nationalities who will live on the territory of our republic.

And, further: Practically our entire national intelligentsia was wiped out in the 1930's, and its revival has not been permitted to this day. The cultural and linguistic potential of our people is insufficient for a revival of our culture and language on our own. Consequently, appreciable assistance from the German-speaking countries is needed.

The Volga does not today attract many Germans, on the contrary they are already leaving by the thousands. They are not attracted because it has never been the homeland of the majority of Soviet Germans; because Soviet Germans do not see there a benevolent attitude toward them on the part of the local population; because ecologically a substantial part of the territory has been put out of action; and because the cultural assistance of the German-speaking countries would be difficult there and less effective. And an autonomous republic in which merely a small proportion of the 2 million Soviet Germans would live would not save the people.

Is there another option? Yes. It is Kaliningrad Oblast. I hear the objections: It is even less suitable since it is not the homeland for any Soviet German. However, far more Germans are prepared to move there than to the Volga, and if a state wishing to hold on to the Soviet Germans cannot offer them anything better, why not offer this possibility?

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] But, after all...

[Vormsbecker] Yes, it is the first thing that is always heard in response: But! However, there is, after all, a simple argument: If the people agree to this version and the country could, in addition, derive great benefits from it, why not afford it? The Germans would also "look to the forests," like the Baltic republics. But they have, as it is, a chance to go to an even more distant "forest"; Kaliningrad signifies a desire to remain in their Soviet country.... Germany, Poland are laying claim to this territory? But if this is their territory, it needs to be returned to them, if, however, it is our territory, administering it is our own internal concern.... We cannot decide alone? Let us decide together with those who have a right to a say here.... We have military bases there, what will become of them? But if even military bases cannot hold out in the face of the peaceability of the Soviet Germans, it is, after all, sometimes possible to make pluses out of minuses. Why not make a condition of the creation of autonomy for the Soviet Germans in Kaliningrad Oblast a disarmament of the NATO bloc equivalent to our bases eliminated there? This would lower the level of confrontation in Europe and throughout the world and be to the good of everyone.... There is a further "but"? Let us assemble all interested parties and discuss them.

As I have observed, with us the Kaliningrad option is altogether frequently viewed from the past. But it is time to view it from the future, from the standpoint of the building of the all-European home.

In a word, I do not see the problem of the Soviet Germans as being deadlocked. It is simply that to resolve it we all need to emerge as quickly as possible from the impasses of the past approaches, consciousness, and stereotypes.

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Thank you, Gugo Gustavovich, for the interview. I hope that it will answer the questions of many of our readers also.

[Vormsbecker] I would be happy if that were to be the case.

Work Continues on New Union Treaty Proposals

PM2008105590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Article by Vladimir Poshatayev: "What Will the New Union Be Like"]

[Text] The Great Kremlin Palace's Hall of Facets has been the center of the country's intense political life for a week now. "Roundtable" meetings of the working groups of the Supreme Soviet, the country's Council of Ministers, and plenipotentiary representatives of Union republic supreme soviets are being intensively held there. Proposals on the concept of a new Union treaty are being discussed.

It is well known that USSR President M.S. Gorbachev put forward the idea of a Union of sovereign socialist states at a sitting of the USSR Council of the Federation devoted to the problems of the country's national and state makeup. Essentially, it is a question of new principles for organizing the Union. A treaty should play the fundamental role here and be not just an accompaniment to people's lives but a law of life for everyone in the Union.

The main thing is that it will have to be elaborated by the republics themselves. And of course they will primarily want (and this is already happening) to reinforce the fundamental interests of each of them in the treaty. They will want to enshrine their equal rights and sovereignty in it.

How can this be done without upsetting the balance of the entire gigantic state formation? What principles should underlie the treaty? What should be rejected and what adopted so as to build relations in the Union more sensibly and purposefully? The participants in the consultative meetings have been seeking answers to these and other difficult questions.

They are starting virtually from scratch. The former document can in no way serve as a basis, although continuity in all its sensible and proven aspects should be maintained in the opinion of many participants in the consultations. The 30 December 1922 Treaty on the Formation of the USSR was signed by four republics. The last amendments to it were made in 1929 in connection with the accession of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] to the Union. The makeup of the USSR was then specified in the treaty—seven republics. A simplification of the procedure of republics' accession to the Union was also permitted—legal scholars rightly see this as a manifestation of the Stalinist approach to the implementation of the principles of the Soviet federation and essentially as the restoration of Stalin's notorious "autonomization" idea. This ultimately led to a loss of sovereignty by the Union republics in practice. Neither the 1936 nor 1977 Constitutions are treaty-based documents. They do not even mention the treaty basis behind the creation of the USSR.

Specialists believe that a new treaty will make it possible to allot powers normally between the USSR and the republics. A number of meeting participants are proposing that it include a list of powers to be delegated by the center and define the relationship between Union and republic legislation.

"There are many proposals," G.S. Tarazevich, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities' Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations, said in a conversation. "And they are all being examined most attentively. The transformation of Union relations on a democratic basis is dictated by both political and economic motives. It is important to guarantee all republics' sovereignty and equal rights. In short, the question of the Union's destiny has today shifted from the sphere of theory to the sphere of direct practice. A treaty will have to define what the relationship among republics and between republics and Union organs will be. Meetings have been held with plenipotentiary representatives from seven Union republics.

"How much work still lies ahead!

"We would like to meet with everyone."

KGB Officer Calls for De-Partyization

PM1908121290 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview with KGB Liutenant Colonel Vladimir Morozov conducted by A. Tsatsuyev; date and place not given; published under the rubric "We Continue a Theme": "'I Work for the KGB...'"—first four paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] The chief objective of our articles on the KGB is to help create the kind of organ that will reliably protect the USSR Constitution and citizens' security.

A draft Law on USSR State Security and the KGB has been prepared at the KGB. But from experience of our parliament's work we know that the adoption of a law can sometimes be delayed if all the comments and proposals are not taken into account beforehand. Therefore, we want to know all the opinions, and first and foremost those opinions of the professionals now serving in the KGB. No one is indifferent to the fate of the special services or the kind of organs in which they work.

One such KGB staffer is Vladimir Morozov, a 40-year-old lieutenant colonel.

He joined the KGB after graduating from a polytechnical institute and working in a plant. He has been in state security organs for 16 years now. He worked in a kray administration and now in Moscow, in the central apparatus.

[Tsatsuyev] Vladimir Vasilyevich, let us try straightaway to answer the following question: With what, in your opinion, should the reform of the KGB begin?

[Morozov] First and foremost, with the depoliticization of the organs.

[Tsatsuyev] Depoliticization means KGB workers are nonparty in nature...

[Morozov] Not just that. **Special service staffers should not be in the ranks of any party or engage in political activity** while serving in state security organs.

I would even substitute the term "de-partyization" for "depoliticization." After all, there is no security service in the world which exists outside politics. But in democratic countries they carry out the policy of state organs elected through the expression of the people's will. In our country this means above all the Supreme Soviet, on whose instructions the special services should implement the policy of the country's parliament rather than any political party.

Discussion among KGB cadre personnel about depoliticizing the organs has been going on some while. True, there have been attempts to stop it, arguing that the time is not yet ripe and that we should not discard the party at such a difficult period for it. But we already know from our history what it was like when the organs served individual political groupings and what a tragedy for our people this brought...

I submitted my own proposals on the departyization and demilitarization of the organs and so forth to the leadership after studying the working version of the draft Law on USSR State Security and the KGB submitted to the country's parliament.

[Tsatsuyev] Was even one of them taken into account?

[Morozov] No.

[Tsatsuyev] And how is discussion of the draft law on the KGB proceeding?

[Morozov] There has been effectively no discussion at all even within the walls of the committee. Many, many professionals have, I think, held back. That is no doubt why the draft law is well out of date before it has even become law.

[Tsatsuyev] Please explain...

[Morozov] The law is based on an old concept. The KGB remains a centralized Union-republic ministry strictly subordinate to the center in terms of functions and tasks. But what is to be done about the right of every nation to protect its own national security and the sovereignty of the republics? And another important aspect: Despite the fact that there is no mention of the CPSU in the draft, in effect the principles which now exist as regards protecting the party remain. The KGB remains an instrument for resolving party political questions.

As we are in disagreement with the main and other propositions of the draft, we have begun preparing our own proposals.

[Tsatsuyev] You said "we." Who else is there, apart from you?

[Morozov] A group of like-minded state security staffers. For the time being I will refrain from divulging any names to the KGB leadership and, even more so, the press.

But I did submit a report to KGB Chairman Kryuchkov containing our proposals and a request that we be given the opportunity to engage in more detailed drafting of our version of the draft law.

But I left the party even before that.

[Tsstuyev] Why?

[Morozov] The decision did not, of course, come about suddenly. Ideas about leaving the CPSU and the departyization of the special services arose long ago.

And I came to the conclusion that to preclude any pressure upon me, particularly now, at a time when the multiparty system is coming into being, and to be impartial in putting forward proposals on KGB reforms it was necessary to be independent of any party. That, I repeat, is my personal opinion. Although I am not today the only one in the central apparatus who has made such a decision.

I will not talk about all the ups and downs of the party meeting. I will only say that my request was granted, although it is also true that a decision was made to ask the committee leadership to examine the question of my continued employment in KGB organs...

[Tsatsuyev] Let us return to your draft. What are the basic principles and ideas incorporated in it?

[Morozov] Our concept presupposes that fundamentally new state security organs in terms of their functions and tasks are created to replace the current structures. Intelligence, counterintelligence, the protection of citizens' constitutional rights, technical and other backup services. These structures are created on the basis of the new Union treaty and proceed from the premise that every nation has the right to create its own structure for national security organs. The relations between national security services are regulated by special interstate agreements. And at the Union level two organs are created under the president which we provisionally call the committee on intelligence and the committee for the protection of citizens' constitutional rights and counterintelligence, equipped with a small staff of highly skilled advisers, a powerful analytical subunit, and a small skilled working apparatus for the implementation of Union-wide intelligence and counterintelligence programs.

[Tsatsuyev] You repeated "small"... But how will the strength of the security organs compare, for example, with the existing staff?

[Morozov] Preliminary calculations show that the KGB staff can be more than halved without impairing state security.

[Tsatsuyev] Why by that amount, specifically?

[Morozov] We came to this conclusion after analyzing the strength of the whole complex of the committee's services, many of which effectively work just for their own benefit and often just generate waste paper. They are not needed. Moreover, many KGB structures will pass over to other departments and ministries.

[Tsatsuyev] New structures, new organs. And new cadres too? And what is to be done with those who are working in the committee now?

[Morozov] An important question. It is important to retain the professional cadres and to retain honest intelligence and counterintelligence officers in the new organs.

We propose competitive recruitment on contract terms. We propose selecting cadres for service in the security organs in accordance with the functions vested in the new organs. Those people who, thanks to their training, experience, and expertise, will be able to discharge those functions.

Essentially, of course, the new security organs will be created on the basis of the present apparatus of professionals while excluding, naturally, nomenklatura influence by any party.

[Tsatsuyev] But who will select these people?

[Morozov] I think a qualified commission of top-rate professionals. It would study not just personnel files, but it also would meet with every operational worker, discover his inclinations and potential, and draw an honest conclusion: Yes, you suit us or... The size of the special services will certainly not allow all who so wish to be employed. It is necessary to set up special commissions under the USSR Council of Ministers and Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers. They would help those professional staffers who do not find a place in the new structures to transfer to other work and to tackle certain other tasks. For example, there are now many joint enterprises, concerns, and firms. They are extremely interested in protecting commercial secrets and are seeking specialists for this.

Moreover, I think we need to introduce some kind of financial compensation so that those people who do not get through the competitive, contract-based recruitment procedure do not find themselves thrown onto the street without any means of subsistence, as has happened, for example, in Czechoslovakia.

[Tsatsuyev] And what will the budget of the new organs be like? Who will approve it?

[Morozov] The budget of the two Union organs—the intelligence and counterintelligence committees—is approved by the Union parliament. Like the financing of major intelligence and counterintelligence programs. As far as national structures are concerned, their budget and numerical strength are approved by the republic parliaments.

Of course, budgets should be within reasonable bounds, and yet not stingy. The material base in our organs is extremely low compared with the West. The salaries too, which is one reason why our staffers and agents "sell out" to the West. It is necessary, therefore, I think, to increase salaries substantially, particularly for operational staff, at least threefold, with part payment in freely convertible currency.

Special programs and laws on the social and legal protection of operational staffers and agents need to be drafted.

[Tsatsuyev] But how are citizens to be protected from the organs? How are we to destroy the fear which many people still undoubtedly experience at the mention of the NKVD, the KGB...

[Morozov] The rule of law must be the determining principle of special services' activity. Parliamentary control along with supervision by the prosecutor's office must be established over the organs. Systematic hearings and unimpeded access to documents must be introduced into practice. Soviet people must be certain that the organs are not committing unlawful acts.

[Tsatsuyev] Who will analyze the information received by the security organs, who will be its consumers?

[Morozov] The new structures must have powerful analytical subunits equipped with an advanced computer technology base and professional analysts.

But any citizen may make use of the information. He is entitled to make an inquiry and obtain an exhaustive answer on any topic that interests him.

It is naturally essential to have a law on state secrets, where what is secret must be defined, while everything else must be accessible to Soviet citizens and state organs.

[Tsatsuyev] But to what, in your opinion, are the security organs "not entitled..."?

[Morozov] First of all they are not entitled to interfere in the political struggle or violate citizens' constitutional rights. The procedure for applying special means to expose enemy agents, to combat organized crime, and so forth must be defined by law. **Every Soviet and foreign citizen should know what the security organs are entitled to do in the discharge of their functions.** Sanction for the use of special means should be granted by a prosecutor or in a special court.

[Tsatsuyev] What do you intend to do next with your draft?

[Morozov] This document is still "raw," as yet. And we hope that the KGB chairman will allow us to complete our work. We are ready to accept all proposals concerning the future activity of the new state security organs from both KGB staffers and any citizen of our country. We will send our proposals to the USSR Supreme Soviet. And then we think that all versions of the draft law on state security, including ours, should be submitted to the verdict of the public.

[Tsatsuyev] One must suppose that you are counting on assistance from the KGB leadership in this question.

[Morozov] Of course. Although I do not rule out a different reaction to our initiatives. Unfortunately, according to some information I have, the leadership is already seeking compromising evidence against me. Although I do not feel a "criminal" in any way...

Kolesnichenko Lauds De-Ideologization

PM1908134890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[Article by PRAVDA political observer Tomas Kolesnichenko under the rubric "Thinking Aloud": "Ideological Passions"]

[Text] The word "de-ideologization," which is clumsy and difficult to pronounce in Russian, has rapidly and forever entered the political lexicon of the 20th century. But has it been fully understood by us and do we all invest it with the same content? This question is, in my view, not so much theoretical as purely practical.

Without claiming to make a thorough analysis, I will touch upon on just a few aspects of this problem, which, in my opinion, is very topical. Above all this means the de-ideologization of interstate relations in the East-West sphere. The implementation of the principle proclaimed at the UN General Assembly in December 1988 by M.S. Gorbachev is radically changing the strategic situation in the international arena. The thesis that ideological relations worsen as political and military tension eases, which in the upshot restored the tension to its former position and even promoted a new dangerous spiral in it, is disappearing.

De-ideologization leads away from the deadly barrier between the two systems, annuls the historical "precept" of mutual destruction, and opens up realistic ways of collaborating to ensure the triumph of common human values. And this is the very heart of the policy of new thinking. Deideologization removes, as it were, the final "taboo" and imparts a new qualitative content to collaboration between the two systems, stressing thereby the unity and indivisibility of our diverse world.

There is much argument now as to who has lost and who renounced their principles: "we" or "they"? This reminds me of the question of who won the cold war. There too there were no losers. The erosion of the "enemy image," in this case ideological, and the winding back of the nuclear clock strengthen both our security and theirs, and benefit the whole of the earth's civilization rather than the enemy, as we once used to write.

I would like to remind those who experience nostalgia for our "militant" and "aggressive" ideology of the not-so-distant past, for "international duty" and "fraternal help," and who today see a retreat from the principles of socialism, that "they" could be said to have abandoned the "principles of capitalism" to no less a degree, perhaps even to a greater degree, on yielding to commonsense.

This also applies to the doctrine of "containment" and "rolling back communism," "psychological warfare," and so forth. Not so long ago one could read in the NATO circular "Ideological and Moral Aspects of Defense" recommendations, for example, not to use the term "socialist countries." The advice was to call them "communist," which, in the authors' opinion, would have a depressing effect on the public. It was also suggested that the word "democratic" be avoided, even if it formed part of a state's title, and so on, and so forth.

But just the other day, in an article entitled "The End of NATO?", published in THE WASHINGTON POST, Henry Kissinger drew the conclusion that as a result of the triumph of the policy of new thinking and emphasis on human values "NATO no longer poses a threat to the Soviet Union." This much-experienced master of "quiet diplomacy" even considers that "German NATO membership will be bought at the price of losing NATO's military content and subordinating its political line to the CSCE." In his opinion, the abandonment of confrontation, including ideological confrontation, "is the sign of a genuinely new attitude to the Soviet Union by Western leaders."

One of the latter (albeit an erstwhile one) was welcomed at the opening of the Goodwill Games at the Seattle stadium with tumultuous, never-ending applause, as they say. And yet it was he—President Reagan—who had at the start of the eighties set his sights on "total war" against the Communists, declaring a "crusade" against the "evil empire"—the Soviet Union. Anticommunism was elevated to the level of state policy. That was when suicidal words were heard, words uttered not by a madman but by U.S. Secretary of State Haig: "There are things more important than peace" (a variation on 'Better dead than Red'). Reagan, Weinberger, Helms, and others, the "provincial ideologues" as they were dubbed, did not disguise the fact that for them the Soviet Union still represented history's illegitimate child and they were ready to launch a "preemptive strike" upon it and embark upon a "protracted nuclear war."

Incidentally, like their McCarthyite predecessors, these ideologues invented nothing new. As early as 1919 Colonel Raymond Robins, leader of an American Red Cross mission, told businessmen on his return from Russia: "A bomb has been placed under this hall and everywhere in the world, and it could blow up our system—yours and mine—and dispatch it for ever to our forebears—to the Bourbons and the Pharoahs." In effect the colonel proposed psychological warfare as the most effective weapon aginst this. "Idea should counter idea," he said. By the mid-1980's such a confrontation of ideas had materialized into the prospect of the destruction of all mankind. The specter of the "nuclear winter" loomed over the cold war.

The alternative of mankind's survival demanded rapid, unorthodox decisions, on the "ideological front" as elsewhere.

A "second revolution"—perestroyka and the bold rejection of outmoded sterotypes and dogmas—came from our side, while from theirs there appeared foresight, political realism, and, at last, a sense of self-preservation, which enabled Reagan and other Western leaders to avoid making mistakes on a historic scale and remaining in thrall to their own ideology. In other words, we both understood that nuclear war cannot be a means of achieving ideological or any other objectives. And we both came to the conclusion that ideological conflicts should not be a cause of world war. And this does not involve ideological disarmament. On the contrary, it became clear that in meeting the "challenge of the time" states with different ideologies can and should cooperate among themselves on behalf of common human values and global tasks. Instead of the idea of "burying capitalism" we advanced the idea of "burying the cold war." And let every people work out which system and ideology is best.

Farsighted Western figures responded to this new philosophy of peace. Thousands of people welcomed in Seattle not a "Californian ideologue" but a statesman who had heeded to reason, the partner of M.S. Gorbachev in the world arena and therefore rightly sharing the first successes of the policy of new thinking.

I think that the popularity of Margaret Thatcher in our country, which is incomprehensible to many English people, is due in many respects to the fact that she has, if you wish, consistently supported our perestroyka and has shown readiness to cooperate with the Soviet Union in the broadest range of relations. As a classic ideologue of conservatism (she really cannot abide the very word "socialism"), the British prime minister was one of the first to embark on the path of pragmatism in her foreign policy.

De-ideologization must not be confused with the slogan "end of ideology," which was floated back in the 1950's by Raymond Aron (in the book "The Opium of the Intellectuals") and then, in the 1960's, by Daniel Bell ("The End of Ideology. The Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the 1950's").

In our postindustrial society (although this formula was not acceptable to all delegates at the 28th CPSU Congress) political ideas have not "exhausted themselves," but have acquired a new constructive content. For example, we are now switching from the Brezhnev postulate of "unceasing ideological warfare" toward, one might say, ideological dialogue on the basis of growing glasnost and the democratization of the whole of our society. That does not come easily.

Even in the book "Ideological Struggle. Questions and Answers," published in our country as late as 1987, you can find the following "dialogue," if you can call it that: "It is said that an experienced ideological fighter is capable of answering any question, including those put by a foreign radio station. But how are attacks by our ideological opponent to be parried if you are not familiar with their content? Let us answer: A propagandist does not necessarily need to know every time what the hostile radio station has broadcast. His skill (!) lies in exposing the subversive purpose (?) and manipulative nature of ideological sabotage activity while avoiding getting embroiled in discussion of the details of the latest radio provocation." And a little further on, there is another serious warning: "The enemy is just waiting to draw us into polemic on some deliberately bogus grounds." There you have all the "militancy" of regimented ideology. Such "ideological fighters" involuntarily helped create among millions of people in the West the "enemy image" in the shape of our country, where programmed ideological robots, sealed off from all contacts and dialogue, live for ever. Thank God, both "our" ideological fog and "theirs" is now dispersing.

The de-ideologization of our relations with Third World countries forms a special topic. I would note only that this delivers us from the inconceivably ruinous burden which has dragged our economy to the bottom and deformed natural political ties with whole regions. It was sufficient for any state to declare itself a state of "socialist orientation" (and this sometimes screened yet another dictatorial regime) for us to be drawn automatically (in accordance with the principle of "international duty") into risky military-political and economic commitments. The examples are so well known that they do not need to be cited.

And conversely the new approach to these problems makes it possible to establish mutually beneficial, balanced relations and actively participate in extensive international cooperation and the elimination of dangerous regional conflicts which threaten the world situation as a whole. Our present response to Iraq's aggression against Kuwait was only possible as a result of this approach. It must be hoped that the West, above all the United States, will reexamine certain of its ideological doctrines (at least the doctrine of "neoglobalism), which, since the time of the famous "Brzezinski arc," have divided the contemporary East into states that are "friendly" or "hostile" to Washington. In the meantime such an approach serves as a pretext for strong-arm interference by the United States in the world's trouble spots.

De-ideologization has also affected the Soviet Union's relations with the majority of East European countries (as we now term them). This fundamentally new situation perplexes some people; others even see here "historic failures" of our foreign policy. Well-argued responses on this score were given at the 28th CPSU Congress. I will add just a few thoughts of my own.

First, as life has shown, ideological "kinship" has never been and cannot be a guarantee of security—neither ours, nor that of those countries which we considered to be "fraternal." On the contrary, ideological dissension, disagreements, aspirations to elevate one's own interpretation of Marxism-Leninism to the status of ultimate truth, and mutual accusations of "revisionism" have led to increased tension and even to armed conflicts. It is enough to recall the history of our relations with Yugoslavia, China, Albania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, and so forth.

Second, our security has each time been tested precisely as a result of these conflicts, since many of them aggravated our confrontation with the West, gave its militarist circles grounds for stepping up the arms race, and embroiled us in that expensive and very dangerous process. It is difficult even to imagine the dreadful consequences which could result from the implementation of the recommendation of certain hotheads concerning "not withdrawing without fighting" from East Europe and using force to make the "heretics" continue "shoulder to shoulder" with us.

To be blunt, the wise approach to the events in East Europe, which are taking place in the context of an improving situation not just on the continent but throughout the world, strengthens our security and creates conditions for real disarmament. I will cite just one example: The other day President Bush announced a substantial cut in the Armed Forces in the United States, since there is "no more Soviet threat." And yet this is the very bugaboo upon which the whole Western military machine was developed, the "first strike" strategy was based, and so on, and so forth. I think that the "disappearance" of this myth will before too long make the bloc structure on the continent of Europe pointless and lead to constructive cooperation among those very forces that were divided into hostile "camps."

...And yet we cannot dispense with these "accursed problems." They torment me, as they do no doubt many of my contemporaries who have lived their lives under the roof of the "all-conquering teachings" and who have always been ready to deliver an "uncompromising rebuff to any manifestations of opportunism, revisionism, or reformism." But what, then, about the ideas of socialism, the idea of a radiant future? Was this all really in vain, were all the romantics of the revolution, the thinkers from Campanella to the classic writers of Marxism and the "Kremlin dreamers" really utopians, while the consumerist mentality and philistine ideals triumph? I think not. Ideal and ideology are not the same thing. These ideas are immortal and they remain a human ideal. There is a remark by Marx that mankind's true history has not yet begun. We are still at the stage of prehistory.

History will start when people learn to feed and clothe themselves. For the time being "they" do it better. But that is, after all, for the time being.... We often say history will judge, but it has to start first....

And what is more, ideological passions have overwhelmed our society. Until quite recently we were all in a "single formation," whereas today we are divided into "conservatives," "democrats," "radicals," "left-wingers," and "right-wingers." At any rate such labels are not uncommon today. They even pin them on people with computer assistance (according to the results of voting in parliament) just as "they" do over there in the West. But if so, let us not just copy American political features superficially and amuse ourselves with semantics; let us adhere to their inner meaning and, most importantly, let us try to reconstitute that civilized, I would even say working, level of relations among representatives of different platforms. For example, one of "their" conservative senators who advocates the retention of so-called "traditional values" (he votes, for example, against the authorization of abortions and the granting of political independence to women, votes for lessons in "God's law" in schools, and so forth) may actively support the foreign policy acts of the "liberals." It is possible to have the reputation of being a "conservative" and a "left-winger" or, conversely, a "democrat" but a "right-winger." And on many issues, particularly those concerning U.S. security, conservatives and democrats, left-wingers and right-wingers form blocs, acting, so to speak, as a united front. In the United States, for example, this "two-party" principle is expressed in support for the majority of the President's foreign policy acts. Here you will not find pluralism, however hard you look. But the main thing that I would wish to highlight is that the contest among different parties, platforms, and so forth does not undermine the stability of the state and does not threaten national disaster, chaos, or civil war, but, on the contrary, helps liberate all society's life-giving forces and moves it in the direction of progress.

So which way should we go: "left" or "right"? I think we must go forward, and only forward. Toward commonsense.

Yanayev's 15 Aug News Conference Detailed

PM2008151990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent: "The Central Committee No Longer Influences the Selection of Cadres for Work Abroad"]

[Text] G. Yanayev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, held a press conference at the "Oktyabrskaya" Hotel in Moscow. In the new Politburo he has been given the job of handling international affairs.

Addressing the journalists, he said in particular that the party's role and place in society's life have now changed fundamentally and its functions have changed. The changes were bound to affect the foreign policy sphere. In accordance with the Constitution, the elaboration and implementation of the Soviet state's foreign policy is the job of state organs, and the USSR Foreign Ministry has the job of putting it into practice.

"I would like to say that the CPSU, as the most powerful political force in the country today, cannot stand aloof from involvement in the elaboration of foreign policy strategy, ways, and approaches to the solution of specific foreign policy issues. The most specific form of party Central Committee involvement in the elaboration of foreign policy is the in-depth analysis of present-day processes in present-day life. We see it as our task to elaborate alternative options for tackling foreign policy problems and to present to state organs and the country's president our vision of these problems and of ways of solving them. I do not rule out the possibility that the party Central Committee's views and approaches will differ in some way from the approach of a particular state institution or department. In the process of foreign policy strategy it is necessary to have options and to be able to choose. After all, we have entered the multiparty system period. Our state's foreign as well as domestic policy problems can be topics for debate and discussion and occasionally political struggle between different parties."

A correspondent from the newspaper GLASNOST asked: You were recently elected CPSU Central Committee secretary. What are your first impressions of your new post?

"In a new post one has to pack three days' work into one. I am aware of the enormous responsibility the party, congress, and Central Committee plenum have placed on me. It is not the best period in my party's life. I have been in the party for nearly 30 years and I have been its soldier all these years. I have always believed that I must carry out the party's instructions. Attitudes toward the CPSU vary, nevertheless I do believe in its political force and I believe that the CPSU can get out of the crisis it is in at the moment."

The NOVOSTI news agency asked: How do you view the delimitation of functions between you and another CPSU Central Committee secretary dealing with international matters, V. Falin?

"At the moment I would not establish a clear division of duties between us. We will specialize at a later stage...."

Arab journalists asked: Was the Persian Gulf situation discussed at the Politburo session?

"We discussed the Near East situation. The stance the Soviet Union has taken on this question fully accords with the political line elaborated by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. We believe that there are no problems that cannot be solved by peaceful, political means. We are against strongarm methods of tackling international conflicts."

Question from a correspondent of the newspaper MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS: Hitherto our representatives abroad have been CPSU-trained cadres. Will this cadre policy be reviewed in the immediate future? Will former party organization secretaries be recalled from embassies?

"That is the USSR Foreign Ministry's business. We no longer influence the selection of cadres for work abroad. I believe that the main criterion in cadre selection is a person's abilities and skills, not the color of his party card and the name of the party he is in. As for secretaries of party organizations abroad, I believe that at the moment the vast majority of party organization secretaries are elected from the diplomatic corps. As a rule, they are not former party workers. But I do not want to jump the gun here because things are happening quickly and life is constantly making adjustments."

CPSU Holds News Conference on Congress

PM1908161690 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report from the "Direct Line" roundup of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents' and TASS reports: "A Most Urgent Problem"]

[Text] The program documents adopted by the 28th party congress and ways to realize them were discussed at a news conference at the CPSU Central Committee Press Center 8 August. Soviet and foreign journalists were addressed by members of the CPSU Central Committee—V. Ryabov, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department; O. Latsis, first deputy chief editor of the journal KOMMUNIST; and V. Lyakishev, secretary of the party committee of the Scientific Research Institute of Automobile Industry Technology.

Then numerous questions from Soviet and foreign journalists were answered. There was talk of realizing the principled provisions of the resolution "On the Main Areas of the Party's Military Policy at the Present Stage," adopted by the 28th CPSU Congress. Replying in particular to a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's question about ways to strengthen servicemen's social protection, V. Ryabov emphasized that in his opinion problems of the Army—its activity, reform, and the fate of servicemen—must occupy one of the first places with our politicians and leaders. As a member of the CPSU Central Committee, he will insist that multifaceted aspects of Army life, and in particular of servicemen's social protection, are tackled more quickly through Communist leaders in state structures, ministries, and departments.

A suggestion was made to compile a specific program on this question and to discuss it at a CPSU Central Committee plenum.

O. Latsis also answered the same question. When the resolution on the party's military policy was still being discussed at the congress, he had proposed strengthening the topic of servicemen's social protection. We must not reduce everything just to adopting a program and providing housing. In his opinion, the problem of servicemen's social protection must be one of society's priority tasks.

Komsomol Bureau on 28th Congress Results

PM1708091690 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee Bureau"]

[Text] In the All-Union Lenin Komsomol [Communist Youth League] Central Committee Bureau a discussion was held on the memorandum of Comrade V.M. Zyukin, first secretary of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee, "On Certain Questions Connected With the Results of the 28th CPSU Congress."

Members of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee Bureau noted that the results of the congress cannot be assessed as a victory for either left-wing or right-wing forces. However, the course of the congress itself does not give grounds to deny its significance for the the development of our society. A step has been taken toward profoundly reforming the CPSU, democratizing intraparty relations, and transferring real power to the soviets of people's deputies. The election of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, who openly took the reformers' side as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the results of the voting in the election of the deputy general secretary dealt a serious blow to the positions of the conservative bloc in the party and prevented a split in the CPSU, which would have been inevitable had the decisions been different.

At the same time, the congress showed that conservative forces still possess in the CPSU a large potential capable of putting a brake on the process of transformations begun in the party. It is obvious that a number of documents and decisions bear the character of a compromise which may prove temporary. Therefore the step toward radical party reform taken at the congress is only a beginning. It is perfectly possible that it is sufficient to preserve the CPSU as a genuine political force; but to win leading positions in society, it is necessary to undertake a whole series of consistent actions of an even more radical character.

Members of the All-Union Lenin Komsomol Bureau believe that the All-Union Lenin Komsomol should openly declare its support for the reformist, democratic forces in the party and support the CPSU's practical steps aimed at dismantling the administrative command system and the genuine separation of powers. At the same time, having declared its autonomy, the All Union Lenin Komsomol should not and will not occupy the position of observer, but will begin actively influencing the pace of transformations in the CPSU and the elaboration of party policy.

The All-Union Lenin Komsomol is prepared to cooperate in this work with all parties and movements of a democratic tendency that are committed to the swift realization of the idea of creating a bloc of reformist forces in the country.

The All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee Bureau proposed that the federation components [subyekty federatsii] voice their clear and considered position regarding the results of the the 28th CPSU Congress and the nature of future relations between the CPSU and the All-Union Lenin Komsomol. It was proposed that these questions become the subject of discussion at the Third Komsomol Central Committee Plenum.

The All-Union Lenin Komsomol Central Committee Bureau ratified practical measures connected with the adoption by the 28th CPSU Congress of the resolution "On CPSU Youth Policy."

CPSU Secretariat Discusses Cultural Assets

PM1808153890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[PRAVDA-TASS report: "Cherishing Spiritual Assets. Routine Session of CPSU Central Committee Secretariat"]

[Text] The development of culture, science, and education were described at the 28th CPSU Congress as priority areas of party policy. The crisis in the spiritual sphere, in culture, and in the education of the population and the increasing manifestations of a nihilistic attitude toward historical monuments and the Soviet people's revolutionary values are a threat to the cause of socialist renewal and to the country's future, the congress delegates anxiously noted.

The letters and telegrams arriving in large numbers at the CPSU Central Committee point out that the treatment of historical and cultural monuments is assuming an acute political and moral character. One cannot regard instances of the dismantling of monuments to V.I. Lenin in a number of places in Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Moldova, and the Ukraine without a feeling of repugnance. Soviet Communists and working people are concerned about instances of abusive treatment of revolutionary symbols in some East European countries. The writers and callers are demanding a principled assessment of these instances and immediate measures in connection with them.

It was no accident that one of the first questions submitted for the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat's consideration in the sphere of acting on the criticism and suggestions made at the 28th party congress was the question of the safekeeping of cultural assets created by the labor of several generations of outstanding Soviet masters of monumental propaganda and its fuller utilization in educational work. A.S. Dzasokhov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, appealed to the Secretariat members and to the cultural figures invited to the session to thoroughly and comprehensively discuss the aforementioned issues and give their views.

The speech by L.Ye. Kerbel, USSR people's artist, Lenin and State Prize winner, and Hero of Socialist Labor, was impassioned and worrying. Artists are at a loss to understand the attitude toward Soviet historical monuments in a number of regions of the country, he said. Recently the USSR Academy of Arts sculpture section met to condemn attacks on works adorning squares and streets which are well known at home and abroad. People can only do this if they have forgotten their origins and lost their sense of pride and dignity.

In his speech N.N. Gubenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR culture minister, stressed that it is not simply a matter of historical monuments, but of monuments of the age embodying the link between past, present, and future. He sharply condemned instances of political vandalism in relation to symbols Soviet people hold dear made in stone, granite, and metal.

The culture minister expressed legitimate bewilderment at the apathy of the law-enforcement organs which are failing to use the enforcement measures envisaged by legislation. Their passivity has often been pointed out by cultural figures and members of the creative intelligentsia. What worries them is the wave of loutishness and irreverence that has sprung up. Can someone who raises his hand against a work of art claim to be our civilized contemporary? In fact, often no one stays this hand. In most cases a blind eye is turned to such things, even by certain Communists.

CPSU members and party organizations must adopt a more active stance here, Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor V.T. Loginov said in his speech. Spiritual wealth—works of art, historical and cultural monuments, and philosophical works—determine to a considerable degree the intellectual level of society.

The creative intelligentsia's abhorrence of political vandalism in relation to the cultural legacy was expressed by USSR People's Architect A.R. Akhmedov, secretary of the USSR Architects' Union Board. He said that these actions encourage nihilism with regard to culture in general and destroy continuity in society and in art.

Unfortunately, in a number of places soviets are failing to stop unlawful actions and often make these decisions themselves. Specific culprits were named at the Secretariat session—decisions by the Kaunas, Ternopol, and Chervonograd City Soviet Executive Committees. The city authorities ordered the monuments to V.I. Lenin to be dismantled, thereby displaying not only disrespect toward the founder of our state but toward history itself. CPSU Central Committee secretaries who addressed the session talked about the need to overhaul legislation concerning the protection of historical and cultural monuments and about making the Communists of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the law-enforcemnent organs aware of the alarming situation.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat condemned the illegal actions against historical monuments and urged party committees, Communists, and all the country's citizens to resolutely rebuff manifestations of disrespect for works of art embodying heroic chapters of the revolutionary, combat, and labor annals.

It was deemed necessary on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee and party committees to submit as a legislative initiative the question of overhauling legislation relating to the protection and use of historical and cultural monuments and to ask the USSR Supreme Soviet, before the corresponding legal acts are adopted, to give a principled assessment of the actions of local authorities who are failing to take resolute steps to stop unlawful actions against historical monuments. As for the defilement of revolutionary and communist symbols in certain East European countries, the Secretariat advocated submitting a proposal to the USSR Foreign Ministry and Culture Ministry on holding talks with the relevant state services in these countries with a view to securing guarantees of the safety of monuments, memorial plaques, and museums associated with Soviet history.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat also examined the forms and methods of training cadres and the party aktiv for the 1990-1991 academic year. The requisite guarantees were given to party committees on this question. It was deemed necessary to devote training to the tasks of party renewal. It was decided to organize thorough study of the 28th CPSU Congress decisions, focusing attention on the identification of priority areas. There was special emphasis on the need for modern forms of training—seminars and discussions on specific topics and issues and creative exchange of ideas.

The Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee was instructed to polish up training methods with the intention that the student body should not be confined to full-time party workers, but should include a significant number of active Communists who are engaged in social and political activities.

The Central Committee Secretariat wants the doors of party training establishments to be open to anyone interested and it wants fuller use to be made of the party's potential for training representatives of soviets of all levels and state departments.

The Secretariat session also examined questions connected with preparations for the next CPSU Central Committee plenum.

After the session we asked A.S. Dzasokhov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to comment on the course of the discussion and adoption of a decision on instances of disrespectful treatment of historical monuments.

"There was a very serious and anxious discussion in which many of our country's eminent cultural figures also participated," he said. "We resolutely condemn any desecration of monuments to the founder of our state and demand urgent measures to stop actions of this kind. Actions which, to be frank, go against justice and morality. Remember the sad, tragic thirties when churches were desecrated. We survived that. The party and the people condemned these actions. Unfortunately monuments are being attacked again today, albeit only in certain areas.

"I want to appeal to the public, to cultural figures, and to people's deputies: You can play an enormous part in preventing erroneous actions of this kind."

Bakatin Answers Readers' Questions Via Phone-In

PM1708152090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified correspondent: "Meeting in Editorial Office"]

[Text] On 14 August V.V. Bakatin, member of the Presidential Council and USSR minister of internal affairs, spent two hours answering KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers' questions over a phone-in line. Afterward he had a meeting with the editorial collective. Thanking KRASNAYA ZVEZDA for the invitation, Vadim Viktorovich emphasized that the phone-in dialogue with readers is undoubtedly an interesting and necessary form of work. "Everything of genius is simple," he said. "Why should the internal affairs minister not make it a rule to have regular telephone contact with citizens from his own office once or twice a month, let us say? I think that we will put this into practice."

V.V. Bakatin replied to numerous questions from journalists concerning the strengthening of law and order in the country, perestroyka in internal affairs organs, and problems connected with the exacerbation of interethnic relations and the fulfillment of the USSR presidential decree "On the Prohibition of the Creation of Armed Formations Not Provided for in USSR Legislation and the Confiscation of Weapons Held Illegally."

A transcript of V.V. Bakatin's dialogue with readers will be published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

Poliburo's Semenova Discusses Women's Issues

904F0237A Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview with G.V. Semenova, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by TASS correspondent T. Ivanova for TRUD; date and place not given: "Thinking About Life"]

[Text] It is not quite a month since a fashionably attired woman hurriedly entered an austere office of the building in Staraya Square and gave her first command: "Bring me the newspapers, please."

The newspapers are not only a tribute to her recent profession. USSR People's Deputy G.V. Semenova, former chief editor of the journal KRESTYANKA, who has been elected a member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, now has to read a great deal, but about this later. Meanwhile, having surprisingly easily obtained an interview with Galina Vladimirovna, I asked her the first question.

[Ivanova] A representative of the fair sex has been elected to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Will she, consequently, deal with women's problems? How do you yourself define the sphere of your activity?

[Semenova] In my view there are no merely women's problems. There are problems of society which have led to the present lamentable condition of women and the perception that they are in some way second rate. If we intend, as proclaimed, to live in a state based on the rule of law, we must change fundamentally our attitude toward women. This is a question of the degree of our civilization.

We need, finally, to think about the actual individual and his life. It seems to me that it is this which could be the basis for a coalition of all democratic, progressive forces of perestroyka. Does not the priority of values common to all mankind not push back all that is superfluous and based on false pride? Man's life—this is the basis for concord.

It is from this general angle that work will be organized. And I see as the goal, what is more, the party's formulation of a policy which incorporates a whole set of socioeconomic measures and creates the conditions for realization of the woman's personality and first and foremost alters public consciousness in respect of her. The harmonization of relations in society—this is the essence of such a policy.

[Ivanova] The term "discrimination against women" is heard frequently nowadays. What do you understand by it?

[Semenova] Today's shortages are grounds for speaking about "discrimination against men" also, although it is more difficult for women. The term "feminization of poverty" is even now employed with perfect assurance. A new one could now emerge: "female unemployment." Upon transition to financial autonomy many enterprises are showing the door to the less skilled—women. For widows, divorcees, and single parents bringing up children this is a tragedy. But man's mood and well-being are not, after all, the "rear"—they are the goal of the desired reforms. And just bear in mind how few women there are in our country at the top decisionmaking level. We are journalists. Do we have women in the leadership in this, one of the most democratic spheres? At the same time it is known that there are many gifted current affairs writers. Women are not sent on lengthy assignments overseas. Is it considered that they are burdened with a family? But are not men?

A stubborn shift in mentality, a change of concepts and moral cliches have led to a kind of social weakness being attributed to women. Notice that we often write in a series: "Benefits to invalids, veterans, women." And this is the fair sex?

I am now in the way of reading a great deal and studying various documents and legislative instruments and programs of public movements. The so-called "women's question" is being raised practically everywhere. If only a paragraph or a line about women, it is there. However, with as a rule such dreadful infinitives: "remove" and "take off," that is remove from heavy work and take off night shifts. One has the feeling that we are talking about some kind of object, not of the bulk of society which most actively influences its development. Yes, "removing" and "taking off" are extremely necessary. But is an answer to the question "where to" prepared? It is necessary first and foremost to remove the causes, not the effects. And to return priorities to their rightful places: It is not politicians who should prescribe for women this social role or the other but her own interests and her requirements, developing naturally with the aid of a humane policy.

It is well known that in the first years of Soviet power women were actively included in social production. Indeed, there was an objective need for this. But it gave rise to a resilient stereotype: The woman who does not work is not respected in society. From those years extends a chain of disparagement of domestic work and the family. Today there is another extreme: People are saying that the woman needs to return to the family (again categorically, "return"). But women should have the opportunity to choose themselves! And we need to create the conditions for this choice, for a convenient combination of roles for the woman herself.

[Ivanova] Was parting with your beloved work on a popular journal easy? Did you not entertain doubts, for the party is now in crisis after all?

[Semenova] It is always difficult parting with a favorite occupation. But it is, after all, work for people here also. I believe I will be able to do more for women.

About my doubts. I am a Communist with 25 years of service. I joined the party at a time of awakening and discoveries.... The books of Yu. Olesha, O. Mandelshtam's poems, and M. Bulgakov's "Master and Margarita" were being published then for the first time. This was a time of interesting ideas and there was a desire to realize them.

But sincere talk gradually grew into intrigues. In the party, organizations meetings were conducted as bidden and in accordance with agendas imposed from above. I am sure that these times have gone never to return.

And I would like to say to those who now are prepared to hand in their party cards: If you joined the party sincerely, be in no hurry. Support the party's renewal by action. Support is not a one-sided but mutual process.

The program documents of the CPSU proclaim an aspiration to become a party of civil concord. And my area of work today is precisely part of the logic of the times, the logic of society's movement toward renewal. Civil concord means a compromise of interests in the name of changes for the better for all. Such concord is today essential in the home, in parliament, in the primary party organization.

[Ivanova] What, in your view, should be the main thing for the primary organizations now?

[Semenova] Practical assistance to the reforms and perestroyka. Assistance to actual people. A meeting of women delegates was held at the time of the congress, and one of them asked me: "Who will defend the women? She has been fired or deprived of a bonus and has been treated unfairly, let us suppose. Where can she go, from whom can she seek help?" Such questions are very familiar to me from KRESTYANKA. After all, people write to a newspaper, to a journal in the extreme.

We all know that in the recent past laws were frequently broken and democracy was scorned by party figures also. But it would be dishonest not to add that it was very often the party committees that restored justice, defended a person, and helped us journalists run the "Steps Taken" column.

Today the party has renounced the monopoly of power, and the soviets locally have not yet strengthened sufficiently. Consequently, we need to act together—the party, the soviets, and the unions.

[Ivanova] The opinion is held that leadership is contrary to women's very nature. Will the assumption of such a high position make changes to your private life and style of behavior?

[Semenova] In respect of leadership I totally disagree. I shall not cite examples from the anthologies or refer to eminent women politicians overseas. I will say only that unclaimed, long-unsatisfied requirements simply wither away. The women have with us been relegated to the background for so long that they themselves have come to doubt their capacity to lead. I am sure that women at any level of decisionmaking have the right and can effectively deal with any philosophical and economic issues. And if it is the opinion that leadership is contrary to women's nature, why not make use even of the qualities which no one doubts? Why not, for example, employ their natural facility as organizers of the daily round on a national scale, entrusting to them responsible positions in this sphere? And it is altogether incomprehensible why "women's nature" comes to mind only when it is a question of promotion, not when machine tools and mechanisms are being designed, the workplace provided with amenities, maternity homes being built, and so forth.

However, as far as I personally am concerned, time faults became a part of my life long ago. There will clearly be no increase in my free time. So what changes in my private life could there be?

Style of behavior? I believe that my style evolved long ago and has not, I hope, evoked anyone's censure. So why change it now?

MVD Penal Reform Proposals Discussed

PM2008140590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by A. Illesh: "Three Billion Spent on Dismantling the 'Gulag'"]

[Text] A briefing was held in the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] 14 August, whose theme was the reform of the penal system. Or to put it simply, they were talking about what is being done in camps and prisons now, and what they should be like in a rule-of-law state. This concerns a project that will change the lives of 769,153 people who are behind bars today, and those who are on remand or in custody.

I note straight away: The MVD itself and specialists from the Main Administration for Correctional Affairs are convinced that there is no escaping a radical restructuring of the whole penal system today. And evidently it is not surprising that our penitentiary system is still called the gulag as of old. Facts and figures point to this. The briefing affirmed that measures adopted during the last few years to improve the activity of correctional-labor institutions did not lead them out of the crisis situation: The highest level of crime in twenty years here was recorded in 1989-1990.

How and why did this happen?

Correctional labor institutions (after the amnesty) now hold a concentration of repeat offenders—62 percent; representatives of the drugs business, racketeers, representatives of the shadow economy and other forms of organized crime, and psychologically disturbed people—30 percent; alcoholics and drug addicts—16 percent.... And this community behind bars is making wide use of methods of organized pressure on the management and mass refusals to work.

A brief summary of the confrontation: The number of cases in which hostages have been taken and personnel attacked recently has increased fivefold. In addition, 126 MVD employees and servicemen have been killed.

Increased tension between the convicts and the guards, which has frequently resulted in open hostility, represents a serious danger for both sides. The MVD states that the criminals' willfulness has reached a critical state, and criminal traditions have been revived in "zones." And all this is taking place because the facilities of the special institutions themselves and their security equipment, particularly at remand units, are falling into disrepair.

But the aforementioned facts are just one visible side of the coin. There is also a part of this iceberg that is under water—the legislation in force contains a number of groundless prohibitions for the convicts, which not only infringe on the rights of the individual, but also are a delayed-action mine in themselves. Restrictions on correspondence, meetings with relatives, the use of money, and obtaining leave contradict common sense (and the aims of the institutions themselves). All this is widely practiced abroad and serves one aim—not to make the punishment tougher, but to ensure that it is carried out in humane conditions. Nor do we have a real system for providing assistance to those who have been released. Restrictions remain effective as regards residence permits for those who have been released, the provision of housing, and so on, which in its turn encourages people to commit new crimes.

This is crowned by the acute shortage of qualified cadres to work with the convicts. Working in the "zones" and prisons is really dangerous and fraught with psychological stress, and of course has a very bad reputation. In addition, it is not supported by either moral or material incentives. All this leads to the intensive destruction of the main professional core of correctional institutions.

The militia maintains that the operation of prisons is still outside the field of vision of many state and social institutions. There are no structures specially intended for elaborating and implementing penal policies in the USSR Supreme Soviet and the government. Republic and oblast penitentiary institutions are subject to strict departmental control. The local soviets really cannot interfere in life there and therefore bear no responsibility for the results of rehabilitating convicts or their social adaptation after they are released.

What does the USSR MVD intend to do to lead the system out of the crisis? What is the essence of the radical reforms?

Specialists are proposing that a new classification of correctional institutions be introduced which will make it possible to clearly differentiate between the various categories of criminals. Today it is extremely important to imprison convicts separately, and the degree of social danger for their inmates must be taken into account in all colonies and prisons. There is a concept of a phased change in conditions during the prison sentence, from strict conditions to more relaxed ones. Clearly the inmates' behavior will be taken into account for this purpose. The reform will give guarantees of the convicts' legal protection (and that of all people in custody). Their rights must be legally determined (and guaranteed), and a large number of restrictions in the imprisonment regime must be repealed.

In the MVD's opinion, all this will bring our prisons and camps closer in line with the international standards adopted in a civilized society, where prisoners are given guarantees that their health will be looked after and that they will be provided with normal everyday activities.

The reform presupposes organizing educational work on the basis of methods for the psychological, psychiatric, and social diagnosis of the individual, extending the forms of the convicts' self-government in the colonies, and so on.

But the "Gulag" will not collapse if the economy of the camps is not radically changed. Whichever way you look at it, until quite recently specialists were proud of the fact that the USSR MVD was one of the five largest ministries in the country as regards volume of production. They were proud when they fulfilled increased plans, forgetting that forced labor (read slave labor) will never be productive.

And so the old economy must be restructured. The MVD intends to take steps in this direction. This is a matter of guaranteeing the convicts' material and moral interest in the results of their labor, and introducing a progressive procedure for deductions from their wages. It is also planned that the tenets of labor legislation will extend to convicts as far as possible, the directive planning of production and economic activity by institutions will be repealed, preferential economic conditions for the functioning of the system in conditions of a market economy will be introduced, and there will be a change in the procedure for deductions from profits and financing.

This reform presupposes many things. But our society must also do a great deal so that convicts have the chance to return to a normal life, and so that the system for rehabilitating criminals stops being, in reality, a university of crime. People who do not know the depth of the crisis will be thrown into a state of shock by the approximate cost of this reform—R3-3.5 billion. But it is not only cheap justice, but also cheap colonies and prisons that cost all of us so much. By solving the problems that have taken root behind barbed wire, we are also protecting the peace of free citizens. Because the level of crime (highly professional crime and further offenses) depends to a great extent on the prison conditions for those whom we have decided to correct through punishment.

Crime Rate Increase Cited

PM1808142690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by A. Urvantsev under the rubric "At the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry": "When Colonies... Riot"]

[Text] Last year and this year the highest level of crime for 20 years has occurred in places of imprisonment. The number of hostages taken, mainly women—medics, saleswomen, teachers—and of attacks on personnel alone has increased five-fold. At the same time 126 staffers and servicemen have been killed or injured....

"It has to be frankly admitted that the system for enforcing criminal punishments is now in a very grave crisis," V. Gulyayev, chief of the Main Administration for Correctional Affairs, said yesterday at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists at the USSR Ministry of

Internal Affairs. "The work of personnel in places of imprisonment has become still more dangerous and involves psychological stress. Cadre workers are dying."

Mass rioting is flourishing in colonies, and thieves' traditions with their inherent cruelty have been revived. For various reasons one convict in every four does not work. In short, V. Gulyayev emphasized, radical restructuring of the whole system for enforcing criminal punishments is needed. And such a concept of reform has already been drawn up in the sector. It provides, in particular, for drawing up a new classification of correctional establishments, separating convicts with due regard for the degree of public danger that they pose, and bringing the conditions of accommodation, catering, and communal and domestic services for people held in custody closer to international standards.

It was emphasized at the briefing that the current legislation contains a number of unfounded prohibitions for convicts. There are, for example, restrictions on correspondence and meetings with relatives. The work of colonies is of little interest to state and public institutions. There are no structures in the USSR Supreme Soviet and USSR Government to tackle the elaboration and realization of criminal-correctional policy.

The following data were cited: There are currently 769,153 convicts in places of imprisonment. This is half the number there were in 1985. This is accounted for by a number of amnesties implemented in recent years and the change in court practice. Only 35 percent of the total number of persons against whom criminal proceedings are instituted receive custodial sentences.

One other interesting figure was cited at the briefing: The approximate cost of the planned reform stands at between R3 billion and R3.5 billion at current prices.

MOSCOW NEWS on 'Repressive Psychiatry'

PM1708113490 London MOSCOW NEWS in English No 11, 10-16 Aug p 5

[Article by Vladimir Lupandin: "Medical Terrorism"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] This man [referring to accompanying photograph], Andrey Snezhnevskiy, was at the forefront of punitive psychiatry in the USSR. A colleague tells how Snezhnevskiy widened the diagnosis of schizophrenia to help keep society in a state of fear. Prominent dissidents were among those locked up in mental hospitals under his regime. Snezhnevskiy was honoured with the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. His Serbskiy Institute still looms over downtown Moscow and, says the author, the apparat of repressive psychiatry is still intact even today.

'Political Prisoners Were Confined in a Special Secret Ward'

Dissent, free thinking and reformism have lately become the norm in Soviet society. From the standpoint of the punitive psychiatry which flourished under Stalin and Brezhnev, these changes represent nothing less than a mass psychosis.

During those years psychiatry, which many regard as a reliable barometer of a society's own mental health, was consistently abused as a means of combatting dissent.

While Stalinism and the "stagnation" mentality have now been discredited as emblems of a sick political system, the apparatus of punitive medicine is still intact. The Central Scientific Research Institute of Forensic Psychiatry still looms over downtown Moscow.

I worked there myself from 1954 to 1957. Political prisoners were confined in a special, secret ward supervised by one Professor Lunts. The son of a well-known pianist, he occasionally appeared at the Moscow conservatoire wearing the uniform of a KGB colonel.

I knew that the Institute was an instrument of repression—I even wrote a letter about this to the magazine Gosudarstvo I Pravo (the State and Law.) Of course, the article was never published, despite encouraging comments from the Law Professor M. Cheltsov. I had to leave the Institute and it took me a long time to find another job.

In 1957 I finally found a job at the Institute of Psychiatry—part of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. I worked there until 1972.

In 1962 Andrey Snezhnevskiy took over the Institute, and it became the ideological nerve centre of punitive psychiatry.

In the summer of 1963 I saw a caretaker clearing some case histories out of the basement of the childrens' ward of Kashkenko Hospital. I picked up several yellowed notebooks and was stunned: "1937, acute schizophrenia..." Each case history I picked up contained a complete family medical history, going back three or four generations.

Many of these cases were examined by Professor Grunya Sukharva, and some are described in her monograph "Schizophrenia in Children and Adolescents" published in Kharkov in 1937. The caretaker was about to burn the notes, but he let me examine them first.

There were 500 case histories of children and adolescents who received treatment in the children's war of the hospital between 1935 and 1955. Later I tracked down over 200 of these people and examined them.

The results were astounding: a third of those patients diagnosed as "schizophrenic" were leading normal lives.

This effectively exploded the myth of the incurability of schizophrenia, so painstakingly cultivated by Anatoliy Snezhnevskiy [as published] and his school. It also cast doubts on his law of the inevitable development of defective personalities, on which basis patients were given large doses of drugs.

My research suggested that either schizophrenics were capable of recovery, or that schizophrenia represented a group of conditions, not a single disease. I gradually realised that Snezhnevskiy had deliberately expanded the diagnosis of schizophrenia, to keep society in constant fear of the disease.

Snezhnevskiy rarely diagnosed schizophrenia in the course of his duties as chief consultant to the Kremlin's 4th Department. Between 8 am and 11 am he would find his Kremlin patients in excellent mental health.

Returning at 11 am to his own clinic at the Institute he would suddenly find himself surrounded by schizophrenics. In the presence of foreign psychiatrists, however, his diagnoses would change.

Even in the children's clinic the atmosphere was oppressive. Once, sone children from a family of Seventh Day Adventists were brought in for examination. A judge had requested that their mental state should be checked before a decision was made over whether they could stay with their parents.

The children told the doctors about their faith in God. On the basis of these revelations they were diagnosed as suffering from "induced psychosis." They were sent to a children's home and their parents were denied all access to them.

Snezhnevskiy enjoyed recollecting his diagnoses of dissidents. He pronounced the poet Josef Brodsky "schizophrenic," quoting his report with relish: "Presents no value whatsoever. Can be permitted to go abroad..."

His pet project was the development of a special strain of schizophrenia to apply to dissidents. Andrey Sakharov was chosen as the role model for this particular form of depravity, which could be diagnosed as follows:

A prominent scientist unaccountably gives up science for politics. Without the benefit of a Soviet political education, he proposes a reform of society and draws up a plan for a new organisation of the world. This radical change in occupation is the result of an indiscernible schizophrenic shift, whereupon a new personality and a second life began.

Suddenly, "a symptom of the energy potential being reduced" crops up, and his creative capabilities begin to dwindle. His instinct for self-preservation disappears. These are all signs of the negative symptoms of schizophrenia. And here is the overriding symptom: systematic delusions of reformism and world reorganisation. Notions of grandeur—dares to dispute Karl Marx.

Many prominent dissidents fitted this framework, and it was precisely for this medical profile that Snezhnevskiy was given the title of Hero of Socialist Labour.

Punitive psychiatry evolved over many years: during the terror of the 1930s, the postwar reprisals and the purges of psychiatry in 1936 and 1951.

The diagnoses of "neurosis" and "reactive depression" were prohibited. This was done to prevent so-called enemies of the people from hiding in mental hospitals.

Snezhnevskiy headed the post-war purge of psychiatry in which many scientists were victimised. Psychiatry was reorganised according to physiological principles: the human psyche was reduced to a set of conditioned reflexes.

By 1962 Snezhnevskiy had established his absolute hegemony over the whole of Soviet psychiatry and exported his methods to Poland, Bulgaria and other countries. His teachings even attracted interest in the West. Jean-Paul Sartre once attended his surgery.

It was Andrey Sakharov who dealt the first blow to Snezhnevskiy's position by publicly condemning the practice of placing political prisoners in mental hospitals.

Snezhnevskiy died a few years ago, and a revival of Soviet psychiatry has begun, with the rehabilitation of the casualties of the 1951 purge. We must rehabilitate the psychiatrists who stood against repressive psychiatry: Semen Gulzman, Anatoliy Koryagin and others.

We must uncover the truth about Snezhnevskiy's government awards: when he received them, for what and from which government departments. We must set up a parliamentary commission to investigate the abuses of punitive psychiatry and to find out who authorised Snezhnevskiy to conduct the purge of 1951.

We must publish all the archive materials relating to the eminent doctor Bekhterev, who was mysteriously poisoned in 1927 after attending to Stalin and diagnosing an unnamed disease.

Finally, we must consider closing the Serbskiy institute. No one can feel safe so long as this infamous remnant of repression is in operation.

Posev To Publish New Journal Freely in Moscow

PM1908184490 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Aug 90 p 1

[S. Borisov report: "Moscow 'Posev'"]

[Text] From now on the once-banned "Posev" publishing house is officially registered in the capital.

"We are freely publishing OBZOR [SURVEY] journal in the USSR—a digest of the Russian and foreign press," says Vladimir Badshev, "Posev" agent in Moscow. "The first issue of the new literary magazine MOSTY [BRIDGE] has been prepared for press, and in it you will be able to read an interview with Sasha Sokolov, F. Neznanskiy's documentary account, 'The Attempted Assassination of Brezhnev'...

"After a long break 10,000 of our subscribers in the USSR will at long last receive GRANI [BRINK] magazine (Nos. 155, 156).

"In addition, many Soviet state publishing houses have recently been buying from us the publishing rights to such books as Galich's 'I Will Return' ['Ya Vernus'], Tarsis' 'Ward No. 7' ['Palata No. 7'], and research on the creative work of writers I. Bunin and A. Solzhenitsyn."

Construction Workers Get Independent Newspaper

PM1908160690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by G. Semenov: "Newspaper for Construction Workers"]

[Text] For more than six months the 12 million strong army of Soviet construction workers was without its own publication. Remember that this year the paper RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA was created on the basis of the former STROITELNAYA GAZETA and SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. But the eve of Construction Worker's Day was already seeing the second issue of NOVAYA STROITELNAYA GAZETA—"nondepartmental and independent."

"This emphasizes the publication's stance—honesty, objectivity, and principle," its chief editor P. Degtarev told me.

[Semenov] "Who founded the newspaper?"

[Degtarev] "Public organizations, as in the initial years of Soviet power, when STROITELNAYA GAZETA appeared. It would be an odd thing to do, now that the command-and-administer system is being dismantled, to create a departmental paper."

Contents of KOMMUNIST No 12 Reported

PM1908194190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Journal's Latest Issue"]

[Text] KOMMUNIST No. 12 opens with the first in a series of items interpreting the results of the 28th CPSU Congress—reflections by I. Dedkov, the journal's political observer, entitled "Test of Freedom."

The publication of the "Studies in CPSU History" continues.

O. Pchelintsev discusses the subject "Ownership and Socialism" in his article. In the "Economic Policy" section the reader will find the article "'Open Economy' in Words and Deeds" by V. Spandaryan and N. Shmelev and also a discussion of problems of food imports. V. Makarov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economics and Mathematics Institute, shares his thoughts on the computerization of our economy.

"Social Justice: The Idea and Its Realization"—this title unites the thoughts of V. Matyushenko, a party worker from Latvia, and a little-known article by Pitirim Sorokin.

It is now frequently possible to hear conflicting views about Communists and social democrats. Delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress also debated this. An interview with G. Schumacher makes it possible to learn the viewpoint of FRG social democrats. The other articles in the issue include these items—"Frontiers of Cosmology" by L. Grishchuk, "'State Will' or 'Measure of Freedom'?" by V. Isakov and A. Kozulin, and "Foreign Policy. Continuation of the Discussion" by A. Kortunov—and the roundups in the traditional "Public Opinion" and "Criticism and Bibiliography Information" sections.

Foreign Ministry Archives Access To Be Expanded

LD1708165290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] The USSR Government has adopted a decision on measures to expand access for researchers to documents in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MID] of the USSR.

It is being established that on the expiration of the 30-year period for retention in the MID archives, the seal of secrecy is to be removed from all documents relating to foreign policy.

The only exceptions are those which touch upon particularly important state interests and also documents which, if made public, might imperil the rights and main freedoms of the individual.

Burlatskiy Comments on New Press Law

90UN2576A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 32, 8 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by F. Burlatskiy, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editor in chief, from the "Chief Editor's Column": "The Future of the Writers' Newspaper"]

[Text] Our newspaper, for obvious reasons (it is a weekly paper!), is one of the last to speak about the implementation of the law on the press and other media. All the exhilarated speeches have already been made. And I can add very little to the evaluation of the event's importance.

I am thinking of the decree on the press that was passed on 27 October 1917, two days after the revolution. It declared that the press organs, which were calling for the open resistance or insubordination to the Government of Workers and Peasants, were closed. The decree emphasized the temporary character of the measure. "As soon as the new order is established, any administrative influence on the press will be removed; the press will be given a complete freedom within the framework of legal responsibility—in accordance with the law, which is the most extensive and progressive in this respect."

Now we see that the government knows how to keep its word. No sooner have some 73 years passed than the people have got their right back, the right they had won in their fight against autocracy. The purpose of my saying these bitter words is not to throw one more stone at the glass house in which we all live. My purpose is to see that nobody ever attempts again to encroach on the sacred, natural, and inalienable human right—freedom of speech. I want to remind you once again: There is nothing more permanent than temporary decisions. And there is no greater form of self-deception than using immoral means in the name of the highest goals. The goals still linger in the mist, somewhere beyond the horizon, but the means have become a reality in the life of many generations. Our parents' generation, our own, and our children's generations have now lived all or part of their lives under miserable and depressing conditions in which all spiritual freedom was absent, the rest of the world was cut off, the truth had to disguise itself under the dirty covers of lies in order not to disappear altogether, as Vysotskiy said. Let us not ever forget this lesson!

Enough bitterness, however. The law canceling censorship has been passed. Though I am not quite sure that we received the most extensive and progressive law as promised in Lenin's decree, it nevertheless signifies a huge step in the democratization of the country. Let us rejoice at that and think how this law is going to work.

In the last five years we, the press, underwent shock treatment. The taste of freedom of speech in a society unprepared and corrupted by lies could not but go to extremes in its expression. The elation was universal; it enveloped both the readers and the members of the fourth estate. But now we do not have to extort new concessions from the government either by force or by screaming, as we can rely on the law; everything will gradually settle and the press will acquire more civilized forms. Freedom will march hand in hand with refinement and decency and the frenzied devilry will find its place on the back pages of the gutter press. Information and sensible commentaries will dominate the media so that they do not carry the name of mass information in vain.

But let us have no illusions: Is not very soon that we will arrive at the state of things before the 1917 decree on the press or, especially, the state of things in any democratic society currently. Hundreds of newspapers, thousands of magazines, many dozens of TV and radio channels, computer technology, cultural traditions of the free press—we have a long way to go, a way that might extend over several decades. Let us set out on this road armed with the experience of the entire world and not rely solely on our own experience—so brief and so tense during the glasnost years. This is especially necessary for our newspaper, which unexpectedly found itself in what may be the worst situation compared to any other publication. Why, you would ask? Here is why. I want to apologize in advance for a few pages of dull prose. I will talk about our finances.

It is true that yesterday we had less freedom but, if you excuse me for being so down-to-earth, we had more money. Today we have more freedom, but the threat of double taxation is hanging over us. Unlike other newspapers we will have to pay 35 percent of our earnings to the USSR Union of Writers, on top of paying the same amount to the government. What will be left for the paper in this case? Instead of an economically flourishing enterprise, it will become practically bankrupt.

I was insistently posing the same questions at the USSR Ministry of Finance, at the government, and at the USSR Supreme Soviet Planning and Budget Commission of the Soviet of the Union as they were discussing the law on taxing enterprises. In response to our demands we later received an official explanation telling us that the press of public organizations will not have to pay double. According to the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers of 14 February 1987, by the way, we were declared tax-exempt and we could breathe freely. But not for long. The Secretariat of the USSR Union of Writers Board decided to appropriate for their own needs an additional 50 million rubles (on top of the 35 percent) in 1988 and 1989. That was how we kissed our money good-bye, money earned over decades through the work of the writers and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA employees. Now we have received an official letter informing us that we have to pay double—to the government budget and to the USSR Union of Writers. To this I must add that the price of paper is expected to almost double, printing costs will rise by 84 percent, and distribution costs will grow 2.1 times. Finally, I must add that a number of central newspapers will receive many-millions-worth of subsidies under the new conditions, but not us. What can we do? Can Bolivar carry two people?

We are discussing every facet of this new dramatic situation among ourselves as well as with the USSR Union of Writers.

And we came back to our old dream—to transform LITERATURNAYA GAZETA into a real paper of all Soviet writers, to expand as much as possible the creative, spiritual, and, of course, material ties with the community and to make the writers co-owners of the new publication and not only participants. We could do so by setting up a joint-stock company "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA," the shares of which would be distributed among all the interested parties: the editor's office, the publishing house, the USSR Union of Writers, the Unions of Writers of Union republics, writers, and readers. It has been estimated that it would be quite rewarding for all of them to participate in the joint-stock company, as they would be able to make a lot more profit than is currently offered by savings banks. We expect that the USSR Union of Writers will actively help us to implement the idea. The union has to see that this measure is not only inevitable but also desirable, as it will definitely help to enhance the union's and the newspaper's prestige even more; it would strengthen our finances and favorably affect the financial situation of the authors.

Besides, we will be able to attract the money of our readers and of other organizations and firms, including foreign ones, which will contribute to the success of the newspaper and to the improvement of its production base.

In this crucial hour, as we regain our freedom, we address all the writers of the country, we appeal to all the coming congresses of writers from Russia, the Ukraine, and all other republics, we address the coming congress of USSR writers: Support your newspaper, help it to survive and to increase its influence under the conditions of tough market competition. All our hopes are tied solely with the active participation of writers, scientists and all the progressive intelligentsia in our work.

So, the censorship has been removed; the king is dead, long live the new king—freedom of speech, even in view of the difficult life it portends.

Recent Incidents on USSR Borders Reported

90UF0455A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 13 Aug 90 p 3

[V. Shchedrin response to reader's question, published under the rubric "Answering All Questions": "How Do You Do, Border?"]

[Text] **Are there many incidents at the USSR state border during one day?**

[Signed] M. Burgete, Moscow

According to data provided by the operations monitoring service of the USSR KGB border troops, during one day in July there were six incidents of fishing regulations being violated on the River Ussuri; the Transcaucasian border was violated by 18 people from Iran and by 14 people from our side. In the area of Pyandzh a detail of border guards had a shootout with two smugglers; local residents detained two Chinese who crossed the border in Kirghizia.

On the same day an approach to the signaling system on the Soviet-Polish border was reported; it occurred from the contiguous side. A lost shepherd was detained at the Iranian-Azerbaijani section of the border.

The daily incidents report also mentions two Lithuanians who tried to take 240,000 rubles worth of 10-ruble bills out of the country. It also has information on a hijack and later return of an MI-8 civil aviation helicopter. Armed extremists in Armenia were responsible for this.

Economic

Power Industry's 'Very Acute Crisis' Discussed

PM2008151190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent A. Pokrovskiy: "Look Back in Anger. Dangerous Situation Around Nuclear Electric Power Stations"]

[Text] There is no way I can call it a simple coincidence that these two items ended up on my work desk on one and the same day. Rather, it is a natural law created by the elemental forces of our times.

In an accompanying letter to the first item Yu. Rudenko, secretary-academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Physicotechnical Problems of Power Generation; A. Makarov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences and State Committee for Science and Technology Power Research Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Doctor of Technical Sciences N. Pravednikov, director of the USSR State Planning Committee All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Comprehensive Fuel and Energy Problems, write:

"Soviet power generation is on the threshold of a very acute crisis whose equal it has not experienced for many decades. The pace of development of power generation has fallen by at least a factor of three.

"Calculations using intersector models of the economy have shown that, unless it is possible to eliminate the effect of negative factors, then owing to the energy shortage the population's consumption fund will have to be reduced by more than one-fifth compared with the government program approved by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Such a shift would mean that we would succeed in solving the food problem no earlier than 2003-2005 and in providing every family with a separate apartment or house no earlier than 2007-2010, i.e. seven to 10 years later than planned."

Despite all my respect for academic computations, I will venture to remark that this gloomy prognosis does not seem gloomy enough. For no model, not even the most sophisticated one, can take account of such noneconomic factors as human emotions running high. In our anger, which may be righteous in many ways, we seem to be ready to successively shatter the country's energy base without wishing to see the dangerous and even catastrophic consequences. One event cannot fail to alarm us all: A blockade of AES's [nuclear electric power stations] has essentially begun in the Ukraine. PRAVDA has been faxed a telegram from M. Umanets, general director of the Chernobyl AES Production Association:

"The people of the Ukraine and their corps of deputies have made their choice—a decision has been adopted on a nuclear moratorium and the closure of the Chernobyl AES. And we regard this as a considered decision. It proposes the work of a government commission involving scientific and technical forces which is to define a package of organizational and technical measures and acceptable deadlines for decommissioning the reactor units so as to ensure nuclear and radiation safety at all stages.... But the demand for the AES to be halted without delay puts us in a situation that is close to catastrophic.

"You see this written up in any urban bus or streetcar: 'Do not talk to the driver while the vehicle is moving.' But in the case of the Khmelnitskiy AES the 'driver of the nuclear streetcar' has been held by the arms and his family has been threatened. Is it possible in this case to speak of safe travel for passengers and pedestrians?

"We admit our guilt and responsibility for the tragedy that occurred and are doing everything today to eliminate it at the Chernobyl AES itself. Believe us that this is difficult and dangerous work. Create calm conditions for us and refrain from hasty decisions which can do nothing but harm."

What could I add to that?

Decree on Small Businesses Published

904A0555A Moscow EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No 33, Aug 90 Supplement p 4

[USSR Council of Ministers Ordinance No. 790 of 8 August 1990: "Measures Pertaining to the Formation and Development of Small Businesses"]

[Text] The transition to controlled market relations and the support for enterprise require the accelerated creation of a network of small businesses capable of stimulating the structural reorganization of the economy, affording extensive freedom of choice, providing additional jobs, ensuring the rapid recovery of expenditure, and responding promptly to changes in consumer demand.

The development of small businesses should contribute to the rapid saturation of the market with goods and services, the surmounting of sectoral and regional monopolism, an expansion of competition, the introduction of the achievements of scientific-technological progress, and an increase in export potential. They will make it possible to expand the sphere of the application of labor and create new opportunities for the employment of the unemployed population and people released from inefficient enterprises. Small businesses are capable of strengthening considerably the economic base of the local soviets of people's deputies and exerting a positive influence on the development of villages and small towns, the revival of crafts and ancillary activities, and the solution of ecological problems.

In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet decree of 13 June 1990 "Concept of the Transition to a Controlled Market Economy in the USSR" and for the purpose of ensuring the necessary organizational, economic, and legal conditions of the development and functioning of small businesses, the USSR Council of Ministers RESOLVES:

1. To consider the formation of an economic environment ensuring the extensive development of small businesses as a most important measure pertaining to the radicalization of the economic reform.

That USSR ministries and departments, Union and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, and ispolkoms [executive committees] of local Soviets of People's Deputies will render small businesses assistance in their creation; material and technical supply; and the transfer, sale, and leasing of spare production capacity, unutilized machinery and equipment, and temporarily closed down and incomplete facilities and installations primarily for the manufacture of consumer goods and the rendering of consumer services, an increase in the production of construction materials, and the exercise of research and experimental design pertaining to promising new areas and support for its accelerated introduction.

2. To determine that small businesses may be created in all sectors of the economy on the basis of all forms of ownership—including mixed—and exercise all forms of economic activity unless prohibited by legislative instruments of the USSR and Union and autonomous republics and if corresponding to the purposes stipulated in their charter. For the exercise of types of activity requiring a license a small business is obliged to obtain such a license.

3. Pertaining to small businesses are newly formed and operating enterprises:

in industry and construction, with a work force of up to 200 persons;

in science and scientific services, with a work force of up to 100 persons;

in other sectors of the production sphere, with a work force of up to 50 persons;

in sectors of the nonproduction sphere, with a work force of up to 25 persons;

in retail trade, with a work force of up to 15 persons.

With regard for regional singularities, Union and autonomous republic legislation determines as an equivalent criterion the amount of economic turnover in terms of an indicator most conforming to the specifics of the sector and type of activity and may also determine a lesser maximum work force compared with that stipulated by this ordinance.

Enterprises exercising several types of economic activity (multi-profile) pertain to small businesses in accordance with the criteria of the type of activity which accounts for the greatest proportion of the volume of output (operations, services) realized.

Small businesses are created:

by citizens, family members, and other persons jointly engaged in labor activity;

state-owned, leased, collective, and joint enterprises; public organizations and their enterprises; cooperative and joint-stock companies; economic companies and associations; economic associations; and other enterprises and organizations which are legal entities;

government bodies empowered to administer state property.

In addition, small businesses may be created jointly by the said bodies, enterprises, organizations, and citizens.

A small business may be created as the result of detachment from an operating enterprise, association, or organization of one or several structural subdivisions or a structural unit (units) from an association on the initiative of a group of working people of the said subdivision (subdivisions) or structural unit (units) if the owner of the property of the enterprise (body, enterprise, association, or organization which he has empowered) consents to this and provision has been made for fulfillment of contractual commitments previously assumed by the enterprise, association, or organization. In this case the enterprise, association, or organization from which a small business has detached itself is the founder of this business.

The procedure of the creation, activity, reorganization, and liquidation of small businesses pertaining to state-owned, cooperative, leased, joint, and other types of enterprises respectively is regulated by current legislation with regard for the particular features specified by this ordinance.

Individual, family, collective, and other types of small business—the procedure of whose creation, activity, and liquidation is not regulated by special legislation—are guided by this ordinance and their own charter.

To determine that the procedure of formation specified by the Regulations Governing the Procedure of the Creation, Reorganization, and Liquidation of Enterprises, Associations, Organizations, and Establishments approved by USSR Council of Ministers Ordinance No. 816 of 2 September 1982 (with regard for subsequent alterations and additions) does not apply in respect of small businesses.

5. The charter of a small business is approved by its founder (founders).

The charter of a small business determines the type of business, its name, location, and subject and purposes of its activity; its management and supervisory bodies and their jurisdiction; the procedure of the formation of property of the business and its redemption and profit (income) distribution; and the conditions of a reorganization and termination of activity.

The charter may incorporate also information concerning the anticipated size of the work force and the extent of the realization of output (operations, services) and other provisions not in conflict with legislation.

Upon the creation of small businesses based on mixed forms of ownership the type of business is determined on the basis of the preponderant share of property of the proprietors who have formed this business.

A small business acquires the rights of legal entity from the time of official registration in the ispolkom of the rayon, city, and city rayon Soviet of People's Deputies according to the location of the small business.

For official registration the decision to create a small business and its charter are submitted to the ispolkom of the corresponding local soviet of people's deputies.

A small business must be officially registered within two weeks from the time of submittal of the application with the enclosure of the requisite papers.

A refusal to officially register a small business may be consequent upon a violation of the procedure of its formation determined by legislation of the USSR and Union and autonomous republics and also its failure to comply with requirements of the basic instruments (documents). Refusal to officially register a small business on the grounds of the inexpediency of its formation is not permitted.

If a small business is not officially registered within the established timeframe or the application has been turned down for reasons which the founder (founders) of the business deem unjustified, he (they) may lodge an appeal with a court of law.

6. A small business has independence in the exercise of its economic activity and disposal of its manufactured product and the profit remaining after tax and other compulsory payments, unless its charter stipulates otherwise.

Relations between a small business and its founder (founders) are determined by the charter of the small business and other basic instruments (documents).

The forms, systems, and amounts of remuneration and also other forms of income of the workmen are determined by the small business independently on the basis of legislation of the USSR and Union and autonomous republics.

7. People working at small businesses qualify for social and medical insurance and social security in the procedure and on the terms established for workers and employees of state-owned enterprises. A small business makes social and medical insurance and social security contributions in the procedure and the amounts determined by current legislation.

8. To recommend that the Union and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers and ispolkoms of local

Soviets of People's Deputies consider the question of the formation within them of subdivisions coordinating work on the development on the territory under their jurisdiction of small businesses with regard for the priority accomplishment of tasks pertaining to an increase in the manufacture of consumer goods, an increase in the production of bricks and other construction materials, the development of consumer facilities and services, an acceleration of the development of new types of equipment and technology, and the solution of ecological problems.

9. To determine that small joint businesses created on the territory of the USSR with the participation of Soviet legal entities and foreign legal entities and citizens be guided by legislation governing joint ventures.

10. To recommend that USSR ministries and departments; Union and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers; ispolkoms of local Soviets of People's Deputies; and state-owned enterprises, establishments, and organizations actively cooperate and assist unions, associations, and other bodies of small businesses for the purpose of their orientation toward the priority accomplishment of regional tasks connected with saturation of the market with consumer goods, the offering of diverse services, supply of construction materials, the use of local raw material and production waste, and the solution of ecological problems.

11. To determine that together with other forms of support for small businesses Union, republic, and regional special funds for financial support of small businesses from the voluntary contributions of state-owned, cooperative, public and other enterprises, establishments, and organizations and citizens—foreign included—may be formed to provide for the financing of activities pertaining to the creation of new and the development of operating small businesses.

State-owned, cooperative, and other enterprises, establishments, and organizations and citizens may be founders of the funds.

Resources of the corresponding budgets may in the established procedure be channeled into the said funds chiefly for the stimulation of the development of the priority types of activity of small businesses.

The funds are independent organizations receiving income from the commercial activity in which they engage, enjoy the rights of legal entity, and operate on the basis of a charter approved by the founders.

The funds are officially registered upon an application by the founders to the ispolkom of the rayon, city, and city rayon Soviet of People's Deputies according to the location of the fund.

To recommend that when granting loans to small businesses engaged in priority types of activity the said funds establish preferential terms of the extension of credit to them.

That when drawing up drafts of the Union budget for concordance with the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] the USSR Ministry of Finance prepare proposals concerning the allocation of resources for participation in the formation of a Union fund for support for small businesses.

12. To determine that:

newly created small businesses, aside from cooperatives, be exempt from payments into the budget from profits (income). The procedure and the amounts of compulsory payments from profits (income) determined at the time they are created are preserved for operating small businesses.

a reduction in the revenue of the corresponding budgets at the time of the creation of a small business by way of detachment from an association, enterprise, or organization must not be permitted.

Cooperatives and small businesses formed by cooperatives make compulsory payments in the procedure determined for the cooperatives.

13. To determine that small businesses may effect the accelerated depreciation of active production capital in accordance with USSR legislation.

14. That upon the creation on the basis of structural units (subdivisions) of small businesses enterprises and organizations provide them with material and technical resources, from part of the quotas for centrally allocated material and technical resources included, in the procedure determined by the basic instruments (documents) and the charter of the small business.

15. That the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply and its system, the USSR Ministry of Trade, the Union and autonomous republic Councils of Ministers, and enterprises and organizations provide for:

organization of the sale of materials, products, and equipment to the small businesses; nondisposable items; and above-quota stocks of commodities and material values, utilizing for this the network of commercial centers which are being created and also small wholesale depots, and render them assistance in the sale of the manufactured product via the trading network on a contractual basis;

the creation of enterprises specializing in the leasing (hire) of machinery and equipment to small businesses.

16. That the USSR State Construction Committee organize the elaboration on a competitive basis of model plans of buildings and installations for small businesses, providing in them for the extensive use of standardized construction modules and prefabricated components and the use of modern technology.

That the ministries and departments will draw up and implement measures for an increase in the manufacture of rapidly erected structures with the requisite set of equipment for the installation of small businesses.

17. A small business realizes its product, operations, services, and production waste and acquires the necessary raw material, intermediate products, and fuel and power resources at the prices and rates determined in accordance with legislation of the USSR and the Union and autonomous republics.

18. That the USSR State Committee for Statistics will organize as of 1991 systematic accounting of the results of the activity of small businesses.

To recommend that the small businesses without services dealing with the accounting and supervision of financial and economic activity avail themselves on a contractual basis of the services of organizations, auditors included, specializing in this field.

19. That the USSR State Committee for Public Education, USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the USSR State Committee for the Press will elaborate in conjunction with other USSR ministries and departments and the Union republic Councils of Ministers a system of measures providing for the comprehensive training and improvement of personnel for small businesses, overseas included, and also the development and publication of the necessary aids for this on the main questions of their activity.

20. That the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations with the participation of the Union republic Councils of Ministers, the USSR Trade and Industry Chamber, the International Center for the Development of Small Businesses, and the Committee for International Cooperation of Small and Medium-Sized Businesses of the Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies of the USSR, and other interested organizations will elaborate and approve prior to 1 December 1990 measures to assist small businesses in the development of foreign economic activity, in respect of assurance of their access on a contractual basis to the uniform system of foreign economy data included.

21. To create within the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform a committee for the support of small business for the purpose of ensuring government support for small business and the coordination in this direction of the activity of government bodies and public organizations.

22. That the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform will in conjunction with the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the USSR Ministry of Finance, and the Union republic Councils of Ministers systematically study and collate domestic and overseas experience of the creation and activity of small businesses.

[Signed] N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M. Shkabardnya, administrator of the Council of Ministers.

Agricultural

Early August Weather, Crop Reports Published

904B0280A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Aug 90 first edition p 2

[Article by Ye. Solovyeva, agricultural meteorologist, under the rubric "Report From the USSR Hydrometeorological Center": "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] The air temperature over a large part of the USSR's European territory was close to the annual average during the first 10-day period of August. The spring barley has ripened here for the most part. The weight of the grain being harvested is either close to the annual figure or five to 10 grams greater. Formation of barley continued only in extreme northern and eastern agricultural regions, and formation of oats and spring wheat continued north of the line formed by Leningrad, Yaroslavl, Smolensk, Tula, Gorkiy, Ulyanovsk, Kirov, and Chelyabinsk. Precipitation ended and warm weather set in during the second half of the 10-day period in most of these places, and as a result conditions for completing the formation of early spring grain crops improved.

Heavy showers that took place in a number of the central and northern oblasts of the Ukraine, over a large part of the central Chernozem region, and in a number of places in Volgograd Oblast increased the area of downed grain and saturated the plant stand and the upper layer of soil. The moisture of the harvested grain was high for the most part. In the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]—except for Transcarpathia—and in the Belorussian SSR, Lithuanian SSR, a large part of the northwestern region, and in the Central Volga region conditions were unfavorable over the course of four-six days for harvesting and threshing with combines.

Cobs achieved milky ripeness over a large part of the zone for cultivation of corn for grain. Because of a poor supply of moisture, conditions worsened for the formation of grain over a large part of Moldova, in southern Odessa, and on the dry-farming land in Kherson, Crimean oblasts, and in the majority of the rayons of Dnepropetrovsk and Donetsk Oblasts. In the rest of the zones where rain fell, conditions for the formation of the grain harvest improved.

The weight of sugar beet root crops is increasing. The sunflowers were ripening in the southern and central regions of the Ukraine, in the Northern Caucasus, and in places in Kuybyshev and Orenburg Oblasts approximately 10 days earlier than the annual average. Blooming continues over the rest of the territory. The condition of the crops is good for the most part.

The potatoes finished blooming, and where early crops had been planted the haulms began to wither. Conditions for the growth of tubers were satisfactory for the most part.

In a number of steppe regions of Omsk and Novosibirsk Oblasts and Altay Kray, in the central regions of Irkutsk Oblast, and in Pavlodar and Semipalatinsk Oblasts, where a shortage of precipitation has been observed for the majority of the growing period, the ears on the early spring grain crops have turned out small. Rain which was observed in the eastern half of the West Siberia region has improved conditions for the completion of grain formation by the early spring crops. In the Transbaykal region frequent heavy rains increased the area of downed crops, and low-lying crops were flooded in places.

In the majority of the cotton-growing regions of Central Asia and southern Kazakhstan conditions were favorable for the formation of the cotton harvest. Only in the southern oblast on individual days of the second half of the 10-day period did high air temperatures (40-44 degrees) hinder the plants and slow down the pace of the accumulation of bolls. During the 10-day period two to three more bolls formed on each plant, and the average total number of bolls formed on a single bush is one to three more than the annual and last year's averages. At the end of the 10-day period in the southern regions of Turkmenia and Tajikistan and in individual oblasts of Uzbekistan the first bolls were noted opening up five-15 days earlier than the annual average. In Azerbaijan because of lowered temperatures an average of one to two bolls less than the annual and last year's averages formed on the bushes.

Delays in Unloading Hinder Grain Transportation

PM2008144590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Report by A. Kozhukhova from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Kozhukhova] The ideal way to transport grain by rail is the new specialized rolling stock—the grain trains. However railroad workers are sounding the alarm. Despite the fact that there are not enough of these grain trains, they are not being used to full capacity. The time these trains spend waiting on sidings considerably exceeds the set norm, and this is totally unjustifiable today more than ever. In July and August more than 30,000 various types of rail cars were to all intents and purposes out of circulation for this reason. They could have been used to transport 250,000 tonnes of freight. Only the smooth functioning of the transport system can guarantee that all the goods will be shipped. The daily requirement totals 7,000 grain trains.

[V.V. Tarasov, deputy chief of the unloading department of a Ministry of Railways Main Administration] Every day some 4,000 railcars of grain are not unloaded. For instance yesterday 198 railcars were not unloaded in Uzbekistan, 110 in Tajikistan, 194 in Khabarovsk Kray, 205 in Moscow Oblast, and 204 in Penza Oblast.

[Kozhukhova] At the Istrinskiy grain product combine, where this report was filmed, 170 railcars were waiting to be unloaded 11 August. Now the situation has improved but that does not mean that the causes of this sluggishness, which is a general symptom, have been removed.

To make matters worse, mutual relations between the partners—transportation and procurement workers—are frequently based on claims and counterclaims and a narrow-departmental approach. There is also unrealistic planning. And the effectiveness of the fines system is questionable. A total of almost 260 million rubles has been paid in fines by enterprises since the beginning of the year for keeping railcars waiting. But what use is transferring money from one pocket to another? And all this against the backdrop of discussions about the country's transition to a market economy.

Bureaucratic Obstacles Hindering Grain Procurement

PM2008145590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Commentary by V. Konovalov: "Who Needs This Harvest?"]

[Text] Many silos in various regions of the country resemble impregnable fortresses these days, impregnable to machines carrying grain from this year's harvest. It has long been no cause for amazement that a bumper harvest always comes as a big surprise to us and no one knows what to do with it. Yet there are quite diverse reasons for people's refusal to accept the grain.

For instance, our nonstaff correspondent A. Kozlov reports that in the Bashkir ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] the first motor vehicles carrying grain were sent packing at many silos because procurement workers suddenly recalled a USSR Council of Ministers resolution adopted a few years ago. This resolution pointed out that grain should only be accepted with a certificate attesting to its residual pesticide content. The resolution is obviously correct but, like many others, it was far easier to adopt than to implement.

The harvest in the Bashkir ASSR is an unprecedented one. There are only six toxicological laboratories for the republic's 54 rayons, of which two are in Ufa moreover. In these conditions it is virtually impossible to analyze each grain consignment. However, personnel at the republic's "Bashkirkhleboprodukty" Association could have told grain growers in advance all the requirements for produce quality, identified the fields where pesticides have been used, established the procedure for monitoring their use, and organized selective checks on grain at the silos themselves.... Provided that people knew that summer follows spring and brings with it a harvest which, incidentally, may prove to be a bumper one. It is of course difficult to predict such surprises.

Another reason for people's failure to receive grain at Bashkir ASSR silos is of precisely the same nature. There has been a lack of floodwater here for three years. Silos' drying capacities have stood idle. There seemed to be quite enough time to prepare them for work in the event of a rainy harvest and a bumper crop. This harvest had scarcely begun when the rains came. But procurement workers refused to receive grain with enhanced moisture, turning the grain-carrying vehicles back to the farms. The autonomous republic's government had to intervene to ensure that drying facilities were prepared for work and brought to bear at the silos finally, at the height of the harvest.

Rostov Oblast has its own reasons for having too much grain on hand. Reports are coming in from the localities that grain on many farms here is being collected directly in fields, on the ground [gruntovyye ploshchadki], in old sheds, and hastily vacated feed sheds.... On the one hand, motor vehicles and barges to ship the grain out are in short supply, and on the other hand some grain reception enterprises' capacities are inadequate. The situation with regard to grain reception at the Dubovskiy, Orel, Neklinovskiy, and Volgodonsk silos, and a whole series of other silos in the oblast is alarming.

One could continue with these examples almost ad infinitum. The reasons why the vast harvest is onerous for the organizers of grain procurement only seem diverse at first glance. The crux of the matter is the same. Officials acting by adminstrative edict methods are unable to organize anything intelligently. Therefore they do not need the harvest or the hassle it entails. It is much more convenient and peaceful for them to buy grain abroad. This is only disadvantageous for us and for the country. Since the transition to new economic relations founded on interest and responsibility is being put off and put off, it is time to call to account those people for whom normal work first comes as a surprise and then proves to be a flop.

Stroyev Discusses Party Role in Agriculture

904B0265A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Jul 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Ye.S. Stroyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by TASS special correspondent A. Dzyublo for SELSKAYA ZHIZN; date and place not given: "The Agrarian Complex Is in Need of a Policy of Protectionism"]

[Text] There remains no doubt following the 28th CPSU Congress that the role of leader in realization of the Communists' agrarian policy will be entrusted to Ye.S. Stroyev. This logical outcome could, frankly, have been anticipated back last fall when at the Central Committee plenum he was elected second secretary for agriculture. From the viewpoint of "those in the know" the new position of the recent leader of Orel Oblast, fortunate compared with its "starving" neighbors, seemed entirely justified. For the first secretary of the obkom [oblast party committee] himself, however, it came as a surprise.

There was no preliminary discussion as had been the customary practice. The plenum meeting was essentially over, and Yegor Semenovich was pondering whether he would that day (it was, after all, already past nine in the evening) manage to get home. Suddenly he was summoned to the rostrum.... And then: "It is proposed that we elect as Central Committee secretary...."

It would not be worth focusing attention on the past, but having read at that time about the "surprise election" (being, unfortunately, accustomed to look for a hidden meaning) I wondered: Will the new secretary not be showing off? And I had only to make his acquaintance in person to see for myself that he speaks his mind. This is an attribute of Stroyev's character.

He has repeatedly demonstrated publicly his views on contemporary agrarian policy—in both word and deed. We will have more to say on them. But it is no less important to have an idea of the personality of the individual who has come to lead the party's rural affairs and judge his understanding of human relationships and village honor. After all, you will agree, we knew little enough in the past of the former agrarian secretaries: Kulakov, Gorbachev, Nikonov, Ligachev....

[Stroyev] I returned to Orel following the September plenum with a certain feeling of guilt before my fellow countrymen. And I had even firmly promised my wife to decline invitations to the capital; this had happened when it was proposed that I head a new structure in the USSR Government which had been created in place of the State Agro-Industrial Committee. And most likely at the plenum also, had I been afforded time to reflect, I would have insisted on withdrawing my name from nomination. But it turned out otherwise. I still feel embarrassed in front of my wife: She has in her life had to endure her share of misfortunes—the war which took away her family and childhood home. I feel that it will be difficult for her to get used to Moscow. In addition, you yourself understand that my work will now take up even more time. Without tours of the country and without meetings with people it is simply inconceivable. [end Stroyev]

Ye.S. Stroyev began his first working week in his new position with a trip to the farms of the Ryazan area. It is his opinions expressed at the meetings with the peasants that were made the basis of this material. Even recently trips by Politburo members were surrounded with pomp.

It was with a question concerning the privileges of a member of the new Politburo that our acquaintance began. He said light-heartedly in reply:

[Stroyev] I am now at liberty to choose where to go, where to stop, and with whom to meet. As far as protection is concerned, be assured that like the village muzhik I am capable of looking after myself. When I worked in Orel I would walk to the obkom without attendants. People knew this and would frequently endeavor to discuss their problems outside the first secretary's office, the more so in that it is not in my rules to avoid contacts.

In domestic matters it is a question for me of complete self-reliance. Believe me, on the purely everyday level I frequently encounter the same problems as many Muscovites. For example, in order to have less trouble with the move we decided against bringing some things from Orel. Now, as a consequence of the furniture shortage, we are having to sleep on a folding bed. And at the laundry to which I send my shirts, incidentally, a Politburo member waits in line along with everyone else.... [end Stroyev]

He is 53 years old. In terms of education and practical experience he is an agronomist and party official. His wife, Nina Semenovna, is a philology teacher. His daughter, Marina, is married. His biography was accommodated in 29 newspaper column lines. His birthplace is the Orel region, the village of Dudkino. This was where he was born and it stood him in good stead. He learned peasant wisdom in the Oka areas of Khotynetskiy Rayon. Like any village boy he drove the livestock, cut the grass, and turned the grain on the threshing floor. So the words "from kolkhoz [collective farm] herdsman I reached the position of oblast leader" should be taken literally. At the age of 36 he became secretary of the obkom. It was there that Ye.S. Stroyev's agrarian credo crystallized.

He is a village boy who has made his way to the very pinnacle of the political pyramid of the state. There are a multitude of such examples nowadays. People from the village constitute almost one-half of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Should we feel moved in this connection and concoct yet another fine story about a rural leader from the people? But what's true is true. And although Stroyev does not emphasize this fact, his whole style of communication, relaxed and at the same time respectfully gentle, in itself reveals profound peasant culture in the best sense.

[Stroyev] Can we consider normal a situation where the peasant cultivates sugar beet but has no sugar, sows buckwheat but obtains no grits, has gathered a big harvest of millet but has no groats, not to mention the fact that he has no butter and no meat at the official price either? It is here, perhaps, that the poverty of the countryside starts and whence the roots of its ruination and the departure of the youth. The time has come to understand that the person who works on the land must live normally and be provided in full with what he produces at least.

The political problem is that there cannot be a wealthy state with a poor people. But with us there are wealthy kolkhozes, wealthy areas, heroes of socialist labor, and only a shortage of meat and milk. It is for this reason that in the countryside we need to address ourselves to man and think about why he lacks shelter, why he still cannot buy clothing, why he has no transport or roads. And as soon as we begin solving ordinary and by no means philosophical but purely human, commonplace, everyday questions, people will immediately understand that concern is being displayed for them. And the authority of the party and the state will grow. This was how the problem was posed at the 28th congress—turning the whole party and the whole power of the state toward social questions of the countryside. Not toward meat and milk but toward the peasant himself. And the rest will fall into place.

We can no longer put up with the fact that agriculture serves as an investment donor for the development of other sectors. The countryside has truly been ravaged and poverty, particularly in Russia's central zone, has crossed the tolerance limit. It has prevented the peasant not only increasing production but also feeding himself. The young people have left, leaving only the older generation to worry and grieve. The children have continually been told: If you are bad at your studies you will remain on the kolkhoz. Such has been the social mentality, such the view of life. For this reason it is essential to restore primordial love for the countryside, primarily through satisfaction of the villager's human needs. If a person is ashamed of his origins, he can hardly be called fully respectable. [end Stroyev]

Listening to my partner, I thought that he not only professes this principle and values respectability most in people but also considers the rural inferiority syndrome which has over time become rooted in our society a principal cause of the rural ruination.

[Stroyev] I am for a policy of protectionism in respect of the agrarian complex permeating all spheres of government activity, as is characteristic of the majority of the world's developed countries. This is particularly important in the period of transition to a controlled market economy.

I am profoundly convinced that this transition needs to begin with the agrarian complex, for it produces 90 percent of the food product and 70 percent of retail commodity turnover. Such an understanding is, seemingly, already beginning to find a response in society and in the highest echelons of government. I support fully the idea that the economic mechanism in the agro-industrial complex needs to be built via purchase prices in order to interest the producer in an increase in production. It is perfectly clear that had we taken a bold step in respect of the price of grain earlier, we would not have had to purchase so much of it overseas. It is now essential that we do this with meat also. We need to provide also for direct investments in special comprehensive programs.

As far as kolkhoz and sovkhoz [state farm] debt is concerned, however, the sum total is far higher than the amount that was recently written off, and this step will not release the farms from financial bondage. Other approaches and a new financial policy are needed in order that there be an increase in savings instead of debts. But savings alone, of course, are insufficient. Capital must work in man's interests.

[Dzyublo] Everyone is worried by the question: Will we continue to develop merely in one form on the existing kolkhozes and sovkhozes or will we adopt a multistructure economy and world experience which has pulled more than one country out of backwardness?

[Stroyev] For an answer I will cite the following examples. China attempted in the wake of us to take the path of total socialization and nationalization in agriculture. Nothing came of this. It introduced a multistructure economy—grain production increased by 100 million tons in literally one five-year plan. Vietnam, a half-starved and war-ravaged country, did not know how to provide its inhabitants with even a kilo of rice. But it switched to a multistructure economy and is this year even selling other countries 1.5 million tons of rice, including half a million tons to the Soviet Union. Judge for yourself how deeply just one stereotype, one direction has been established in the consciousness with us.

We are not, perhaps, talking here about strong and well-adjusted kolkhozes. We undoubtedly need to invest resources in them and obtain rapid returns. But the question is what to do with those that are in a state of semicollapse and which will not prosper no matter how much in the way of investments is channeled into them. What about the unprofitable and loss-making farms that have been vegetating in indigence for decades? If subsidies are removed today—and of the 51,000 in the country there are 15,000-20,000 such farms—this means millions of hectares of land. We need, perhaps, to proceed not only by one road but to look for another and a third and a fourth. Let us look perseveringly and we will necessarily find. While not, furthermore, changing our socialist choice and not rejecting the experience of the truly heroic generation of villagers, who have withstood all the overloads.

Here is a living example. We were introduced on the Lenin Kolkhoz of Starozhilovskiy Rayon to chairman Ivan Yegorovich Balov. He had been reprimanded and almost expelled from the party many times. But now he is a hero of labor, is managing production excellently, and enjoys deserved respect. This is the talent and tremendous capital of our society. He has many of his own approaches to a solution of the questions of an improvement in the life of the peasants and the increased efficiency of their labor. Every politician can learn something from such people, although obtaining support right away for some innovation or other is not that simple. People need to be convinced. And it is actual examples which convince the best. This applies to the creation of a multistructure economy and diverse forms of management also.

New forms today are emerging together with the kolkhozes and sovkhozes which are beginning to introduce them as sponsors. And when they develop their own fodder system and when they are self-sufficient, we do not as yet know what kind of relations these will be. I know that they will be different. Not kolkhozs, not private farms necessarily; it will be something different, something integrated and considerably closer to man's heart, consciousness, and intellect and dependent precisely on man. What is most important is the action and not what it is called—leasing, private farming, or something else. There should be just one purpose—raising man's interest. And the trouble today amounts to just one thing: The peasant is divorced from production and is not the master either of the land or his labor. As the poet said, both the labor and property and time of the farmer have been taken from man.

[Dzyublo] Some people are inclined to blame the Communist Party for all the peasants' troubles. What is your attitude?

[Stroyev] True, enough follies have been committed in agriculture. This was said candidly in the 28th CPSU Congress resolution on the peasant issue which observed that the policy of the creation of priorities for the countryside had not been buttressed by the organizing work of the CPSU Central Committee and the government.

The sorest point of the agrarian complex today is the social transformation of the countryside. I know from my own experience what an explosive effect the comprehensive development of the countryside has. For instance, in Orel Oblast previously lagging farms are, thanks to the solution of these questions, increasing production not in percentage terms but by factors. As yet, however, the outward drift of the rural population is continuing everywhere and in the non-Chernozem region more than 10 localities are disappearing daily from the face of the earth. The very center of Russian land is becoming a wilderness before our eyes. In the country as a whole there are four pensioners and persons unfit for work for each person working in agriculture.

Even under these conditions, unfortunately, there are forces which are still striving to improve their well-being at the peasant's expense: sometimes cutting capital investments, sometimes raising insurance payments without compensation, sometimes attempting at the very hottest time to "economize" here on fuel and supply less than the full amount of other resources. And further, the bill which the peasant has a right to present to the command-bureaucratic system the latter is itself still attempting to readdress to the party, endeavoring once having secured its support to heap onto it all sins.

But I believe that such a simplistic interpretation will be of no benefit to either the older or younger generation. We are dealing with a deeper and more complex phenomenon. I will go further: When the 'take away and share out' principle still operates and when instead of an answer to the question 'What is to be done?' we look for 'who is to blame?' there will be no good outcome. We need to force our way through toward a new way of life in which man depends on his own industriousness and enterprise, not on the powers that be. It is for the sake of this that perestroyka is being undertaken.

[Dzyublo] The evaluation of the 28th CPSU Congress is in society, among rural Communists included, contradictory. What is your view of this?

[Stroyev] First permit me my own evaluation. In my opinion, this was a university of the education of the Communists and all people in the subject of the organization of the restructuring processes. I say plainly that for the first eight days the proceedings of the congress were ambivalent. There was a sense at times of incomprehension of the processes occurring in society, a sense that people had arrived fired up with their own day-to-day problems and difficulties. All this made its mark on the debate. But as a whole, when the processes of perestroyka and society's forward progress came to be examined in depth, the congress ultimately reached the correct decisions, quite bold and out of the ordinary at that. It should be said plainly that it is the first time, perhaps, that our party is restructuring itself so democratically and so boldly moving to consolidate all healthy forces of society, those who adhere to positions of socialism.

And a further characteristic feature. New people from the heart of the folk, as they say, and who think in an out-of-the ordinary way have begun to appear for the first time on the political scene. After all, almost 30 percent of the party Central Committee was for the first time elected from the ranks of workers and peasants. Delegates went away from this congress with the instruction to further advance the processes of perestroyka, to do so by tackling specific assignments to ensure today an increase in food, housing, and consumer goods as well as a rise in the authority of the individual and a growth of spirituality. All this put together may be called humane, democratic socialism.

As for the contradictory opinions about the congress and reproaches leveled at the party, we need here for all that to separate black from white. We must candidly acknowledge that the life of the working people is, as before, difficult. But we should not either forget another aspect. I recently analyzed local council statistics of the prerevolution period. Even at the time of the Stolypin reform, to which frequent reference is made today, the cereals yield in that same Ryazan Province amounted to a maximum of 11 quintals of grain per hectare. But today we see fields from which it is possible for the farmer to collect as much grain as he could wish: 40, 50, even 70 quintals. From this viewpoint we can in no way say that the situation formerly was to no purpose. But if we think about the future it is without doubt necessary to afford scope to man as an individual, even if he is dissentient, and to make contact with him and enter into an alliance with him within the framework of a strengthening of our common socialist home. While persuading and canvassing we need to know how to listen and pick up that peasant wisdom which has accumulated in the people down the ages. But we sometimes come here and immediately become teachers.

[Dzyublo] How in this connection do you envision the new content of party work?

[Stroyev] Having abandoned 'power authority,' our party has now taken an open look at its true position in the system of the political, economic, and moral coordinates of society. And it has been ascertained that today not only it alone is the potentate of man's thoughts; there are forces that have also grown up a little and which are acquiring influence. But this is what is important. I recently read a book about the political situation after February 1917. Not every party was capable of keeping a hold of the situation of that period. The strongest at that time were considered the Constitutional Democrats, they were in total control in the State Duma and had a ramified system from top to bottom but were unable to offer the people a revolutionary solution. But when the wave of anger spilled forth, when people took to the streets, only the Bolsheviks were able to latch onto this wave and only they answered the most painful questions. And today also we are faced with the following fact: Will we be able to answer society's questions, will we know how to keep a hold on the crest of political events and remain together with the people? Or will events move on and will we be left to trudge along behind them?

I will say plainly that the party will be able to preserve and consolidate its authority among the people, among the peasants, if it begins first and foremost to solve urgent problems of the agrarian complex. A profound idea is needed, but so also is pragmatism. The main thing is that all positions now be occupied by real supporters of perestroyka, not time-servers. Pragmatists even, it is not given to everyone to be a philosopher. But it is such people who will help us determine what is to be done. We need to alter the criteria of the evaluation of party officials, not the extent to which they are "upright socialists" but their ability to actually get things done.

There is no avoiding dialogue, however difficult. There is in this connection the task of putting an end to party sectarianism, moving toward broad cooperation with other public movements and seeking among them allies in realization of the goals of the socialist choice. The experience of the East European countries has shown that where the Communists gave up on the peasant movement, they lost in an instant. Therefore in the present political situation we need to know how to be politicians without yielding on the main thing.

As far as the functioning of structures at the regional level is concerned, the intention here is as follows: The rural rayon party committees must remain a leading component of our party. It is another matter that the possibility that some secretaries will work on a volunteer basis, as it were, is not precluded.

[Dzyublo] Will there continue to be in the Central Committee an apparatus dealing with agrarian issues?

[Stroyev] It would be difficult to cope without such an organ of generation. Every party has such. That both its numbers and structure will undoubtedly change is another matter. But I repeat the main thing is still work locally in the work force where the results of perestroyka are to be perceived primarily.

The grain harvesting is spreading more and more extensively in the country. With the rare exception, a good harvest has been cultivated everywhere. Good news is coming not only from the south but also from the Volga region, from Belorussia, from the virgin land areas, and from the central parts of Russia. I have already spoken about the impression which Ryazan's grain growers made on me. An oblast only recently mentioned in connection with this "sign of stagnation" or the other is moving toward qualitatively new frontiers. The reason, I believe, is that new people who believe in their own powers and who have awaken this belief in others have emerged.

I believe that in the name of the grain it is necessary to set aside for a time all debate and discord and get down to actual work. The more so in that to the traditional difficulties of material and technical support for the harvesting have been added new ones also, particularly in respect of the town's assistance to the country where of late even the most commonplace commodities have ceased to arrive. Can the Communists really remain aloof from such an important concern? And this is in no way an economic but a quintessential political issue.

...The Central Committee secretary was ready to answer many other questions also. But the vehicle in which we were returning from Ryazan was already entering the streets of Moscow. It was late in the evening, there was a lashing downpour, and naturally everyone was rushing to get under shelter as quickly as possible. Stroyev set off home only after he had conveyed home his fellow travelers.

Kuptsov Visits Kirov Oblast Sovkhoz

PM1708134090 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent V. Ilgov under the "Harvest-90" rubric: "Despite the Heat"]

[Text] Kirov Oblast—The previous day, N. Roslyakov, director of the "Oktyabrskiy" Sovkhoz [State Farm], who had again been to see the fields and consult agronomists, had come to the following conclusion: We must not delay any more. The burning sun had brought the windrows of rye to the peak of ripeness. Now it was important not to miss the deadlines. The machine operators of all four teams had long been waiting for the order and the Niva combine harvesters came out into the fields long before sunrise. The harvest started on the farm.

"Let's hope the weather stays fine," the sovkhoz director said, not concealing his overwhelming feelings of joy. "So much work has been put into this, people have tried so hard. Maybe your visit will turn out to be a happy one for us," he said to V.A. Kuptsov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was in Kirov Oblast during those days and decided to visit this farm.

In the recent past he used to work in neighboring Vologda Oblast. Therefore he observed knowledgeably that the weather conditions in the northeastern part of the country were always noted for their unpredictability. That is why it is important to approach the harvest with great foresight, and this primarily concerns farmers. The CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired about how the equipment on the farm had been prepared and whether the actual organization of labor had been carefully thought out. And he asked to be taken to one of the teams, not some kind of a demonstration team but a normal collective with its own merits and failings.

The choice fell on the Kyrmyzh team. Its fields are far away from the sovkhoz office and as the jeeps were making their way there at top speed, N. Roslyakov had time to tell us that the harvesting equipment in the sovkhoz had been repaired ahead of time. This was mainly done by using their own forces.

...The right cadres have been chosen for the team. Take for example Anatoliy Prozorov. As a machine operator he is young. But he is a native of the countryside and does not merely know about rural concerns and problems—he really cares about them. It was no accident that Anatoliy was recognized as winner of the harvest campaign last year. The two Vladimirs—Yelkin and Vladimirov—are a match for Anatoliy. They are prepared to stay on the combines for days on end, when the working day is determined by the short word "must."

There is no doubt that diligence and zeal come naturally to the people of Vyatka. But the new organization of labor helped to develop these qualities. The team, like all the others on the farm, has been transferred to economic accountability. And this quickly teaches people to be concerned about the equipment they have been given, not to waste time, and to look after the pennies. And there is another circumstance that is far from unimportant. The administration sought to increase people's interest in the results of labor even more. This is the measure they adopted—if the collective obtains a quantity of grain above the plan it can keep 10 percent of the output. Thus another incentive to increase labor productivity and improve its quality has appeared....

But like in anything, here too problems cannot be avoided.

"We really are on starvation rations. But not in the food sense," one of the machine operators says. "That is fine as things go nowadays. But we have a chronic shortage of spare parts. Can you imagine what that means: grain grown with such difficulty, and equipment standing idle?"

[First unidentified speaker] "We do not have enough wheeled tractors, and we are helpless without them. Whatever job we want to do, we have to work out the necessary tactics to save time and the harvest."

[Second unidentified speaker] "We earn good money. But what can we buy with it? The service sphere is useless. What have things come to—we have been left without cigarettes...."

There were many questions and the CPSU Central Committee secretary tried to answer all of them, stressing that it is very important for the new leadership of the party and the country to have a more thorough knowledge of people's needs and opinions, their reaction to the 28th CPSU Congress which was held a month ago, and their proposals aimed at improving the people's living conditions.

V.A. Kuptsov particularly noted that the measures being taken by the party and the government to overcome the crisis are meeting with understanding among the peasants. In his opinion, people's complaints about shortages and the imbalance in the market are justified. The CPSU Central Committee secretary recalled that the rise in purchase prices starting in 1991 on many forms of agricultural produce is just another step on the path to increasing the rural social and economic potential....

The conclusion of the dialogue, during which—and this is very important—each of the sides tried to hear and understand the other, stuck in my mind.

"We all seem to understand that the situation in the country is difficult," one of the machine operators said. "But it will not improve by our shouting about it from the rooftops. But if we move on from idle talk to action.... Come on, men, to work!"

Military

Yazov Gives Address at Military Exercises

PM2108091990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "The High Responsibility of the Officer. Speech by Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, Member of the Presidential Council and USSR Minister of Defense, to Officer Personnel in Exercise Zone 17 August 1990"]

[Text] The decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress are creating the necessary conditions for the party to move to a fundamentally new phase of activity, to be radically renewed, and to consolidate and extensively collaborate with social forces in fulfilling the practical tasks of perestroyka. The congress analyzed the present-day military-political situation in the world and stated that, at a time of continuing military danger, the fulfillment of the constitutional duty of protecting the socialist fatherland "has been and continues to be one of the most important tasks for the entire people, party, and state."

The congress devoted great attention to defense building. A resolution "On the Basic Guidelines of the Party's Military Policy at the Present Stage" was adopted for the first time since the 11th party congress. It defines the strategy and tactics for resolving the tasks of the country's defense within the framework of the implementation of new political thinking, defensive military doctrine, and the principle of reasonable and reliable sufficiency.

At the present-day stage the party's military policy finds its concentrated expression in military reform. Preparations for this reform started immediately after the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum. Following the elaboration and adoption of our new defensive military doctrine in 1987 the reform is in full swing. It covers all spheres of defense building, is closely linked with the progress of society's perestroyka, and relies on its results. It includes substantial reductions in defense appropriations, radical cuts in military production, and the planned conversion of military production facilities. The core and nucleus of military reform is the transformation of the Armed Forces—their makeup, structure, equipment, training, and forms of utilization. Specific confirmation of this profound transformation is well known. The main confirmation of it is the implementation of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the unilateral half-million cut in our troops and armaments, and the creation of a qualitatively new Soviet Armed Forces defense grouping within the USSR's territory.

The military reform and the transformation of the Armed Forces is focused on people and above all officers. Their everyday work, responsibility, receptivity to new ideas, and their ability to organize implementation of those ideas and put in a great deal of personal effort are the main motive forces and guarantee of the success of reform.

During the reform major measures are being carried out which affect the careers of tens of thousands of officers and their families. The Armed Forces cut and the troop withdrawal from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Mongolia exacerbate certain already difficult questions—particularly the housing problem. Unfortunately, there are people who are trying to speculate on these and other problems and difficulties. For them the subject of social protection of servicemen has become a kind of means to satisfy their selfish political ambitions. And in order to generate unhealthy sentiments among officers and to mold hostility toward the Defense Ministry leadership and the center in general, people are distorting reality, hushing up the real facts, and engaging in plain disinformation.

But the facts are these. At the submission of the Defense Ministry the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a number of resolutions to improve the material and consumer position and pay of servicemen. These include resolutions on the registering of servicemen and their family members, on measures to improve housing provision, and others. As of 1 January this year, pay rates to all officers have been increased by an average of 50 rubles [R], cash payments have been introduced for good performances along with supplementary payments to aircrew for their special service conditions, and payment norms for combat standby duty in the Air Defense Forces have been increased. Moreover, monetary compensation of R30-90 a month, depending on where a family lives, has been established for homeless officers to enable them to rent accommodation. Field allowances have been increased from R1.50 to R3.50 per day. The one-shot allowance paid when officers are discharged from military service has been extended from two to five months' pay [oklad].

As regards the housing problem, currently almost the entire Defense Ministry construction potential has been mobilized to resolve it. In 1989 we built 62,000 apartments; this year 21,000 have already been commissioned. We are expecting around 67,000 apartments by the year's end. However, the number of people without accommodation in the Armed Forces is increasing rather than falling.

I would of course like everyone to receive both housing, benefits, and compensation as rapidly as possible. This is, unfortunately, impossible. You know the socioeconomic position that our state is in today. Against this backdrop manifestations of its concern for servicemen and for the Army are particularly important and significant. The new USSR Law "On Pension Provision for Servicemen" was one such display of concern.

This provides weighty confirmation of the assertion of social justice and the strengthening of social protection for servicemen. Their legal defense is also being reinforced. Work on a defense law is coming to an end, a draft legislative act on the status of servicemen is under preparation, and the draft of a new statute on service by officer personnel in the USSR Armed Forces is in the pipeline.

A targeted social security program for servicemen and members of their families, along with persons discharged from active military service, elaborated by the Defense Ministry on the decision of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and on the personal instructions of the country's president has been submitted to the government for examination. It envisages a substantial increase as of 1991 in base pay and allowances for officer personnel, privates, ensigns, and servicemen on extended military service. Additional payments for food rations up to their average real cost and the introduction of child-care subsidies for children under 18 months at the rate of minimum earnings are also planned.

The draft program contains major steps to resolve the housing problem. In the 13th Five-Year Plan it is planned to construct 24 million square meters of housing for regular personnel as against 19.4 million during this five-year plan. The volume of housing construction will subsequently rise still further, including via involvement of servicemen's personal funds. Overall, expenditure on the servicemen's social security program totals roughly R6.5 billion per year. This spending will rise as the economic situation in the country stabilizes and improves, which should be facilitated by the resolution of the task of bringing the numerical strength of the Armed Forces and numbers of arms to the limits of reasonable and reliable sufficiency.

Thus fewer words and more concrete practical actions are needed on questions of social protection for servicemen.

An officer's social protection is closely linked with the concern shown by and the style of activity of the relevant senior commander. For instance, a military district or fleet fails to fulfill the housing construction plan, but the question of social protection is generally addressed to the center. Everyone must take responsibility for their area of work—full responsibility.

Who is to guarantee social protection for the enlisted man, the seaman, the NCO, and the petty officer? An enlisted man's social security does, after all, ultimately depend above all on his immediate commander and on the officers. Enlisted men, seamen, NCO's, and petty officers also need attention, kindness, and protection on the part of officers. It is their exacting, regulation concern for their subordinates that should ensure that all their rights and duties are implemented. For our part, we propose to resolve the question of raising base pay and allowances for drafted servicemen in the immediate future. The phased improvement of their food supply is planned. Proposals have been submitted regarding the abolition of the humiliating labor remuneration coefficient for military construction workers.

I would like officers in conditions of military reform and transformation of the Armed Forces to decide the extent of their concern for their subordinates in a new way. I think that a clear idea of the real prospects of resolving social, everyday, and legal problems will help the officer corps to honorably overcome all difficulties.

The Armed Forces are resolving the tasks of military reform in difficult domestic political conditions. We have witnessed the exacerbation of many problems in the economy, the social sphere, and in interethnic relations. Anticonstitutional acts have been adopted by republic and local organs of power in a number of regions—particularly the Baltic region, Armenia, Uzbekistan, and other areas. Instances of discrimination, direct moral and physical abuse of officers, and the creation of an unhealthy atmosphere around military townships have become more prevalent. Interethnic contradictions and conflicts are generating a negative response in the Army and Navy community. Anti-Army sentiments are being cultivated in a segment of the mass media. Shameful phenomena such as draft dodging and desertion are spreading. Organized attempts to wreck the draft are being undertaken. The spring draft was practically wrecked in Armenia (7.5 percent) and Georgia (28 percent). And it was only partially implemented in Lithuania (40.7 percent), Estonia (42.1 percent), and Latvia (55.3 percent).

All this has an impact on the Armed Forces, on progress in their perestroyka, on the state of military discipline. That is why neutralizing the negative influence of the processes under way in the country and maintaining the troops' healthy moral and political spirit depend primarily on you and I, on the officers. The appeal by the defense minister and the chief of the Main Political Directorate to officer personnel on these and other issues has been conveyed to the troops. We wish it to be absorbed by the minds and hearts of each officer and implemented in daily practical work with people.

On 13 August this year, the Defense Ministry Collegium discussed the concept of the Armed Forces' subsequent development in 1991-1995 and through the year 2000 in conditions of the military reform, the upcoming [predstoyashchiy] conclusion of a treaty and a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, and the Vienna negotiations.

We are faced with completing the withdrawal of troops from Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Mongolia; and in the longer term from Germany and Poland; and with resolving the problems connected with stationing the troops; siting their armaments and hardware; providing facilities [obustroystvo] for the servicemen and their families; implementing measures for deep cuts in nuclear and conventional armaments—given success, of course, in concluding the relevant treaties—reorganizing the central apparatus and streamlining the internal structure of the military districts and the system of military training establishments; accumulating and generalizing measures for the further democratization of military service, of the entire life of the army and navy; and, in the context of their qualitative improvement, with reducing the strength of the Armed Forces to the essential minimum and preparing conditions for the definitive formation of their makeup.

I believe that the officer community will assess at their true worth and reject the existing clearly motivated demands for the depoliticization of the Army and Navy. In accordance with the decisions of the 28th party congress the course of the military reform will see the radical reorganization of Army and Navy political organs and party organizations. The political organs will concentrate mainly on the political, military, moral, and legal education of the personnel; on questions of the social protection of servicmen and their families; and on strengthening military discipline. Army and Navy party organizations will function within the framework of the CPSU Program and Statutes.

In conclusion I wish to draw your attention to the need to heighten vigilance and to maintain at a constantly high level the combat readiness of the troops and forces during the implementation of all military reform measures.

Despite the as a whole positive processes in lowering military confrontation and strengthening trust between different states, we have no right to relax. "Hot spots" remain on the planet—new ones are emerging which in certain circumstances can develop into a global conflict. The Near East region is currently such a "hot spot." Grenada and Panama have not yet been forgotten.

All this represents the realities which demand from us high responsibility in organizing and performing alert duty and carrying out the measures and fulfilling the plans of combat training. In implementing the military reform we must be in a state of constant readiness, if the need arises, to duly rebuff any aggression no matter where it originates.

Lopatin Discusses Right to National Armies

90UM0851A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 33, 15 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy V. Lopatin by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given; "More Good and Varied Armies?"]

[Text] Only several dozen barrels had been brought to the finish line of the well-known presidential edict banning armed formations outside of the framework of the constitution and ordering them to surrender their weapons. In connection with this and also numerous requests, the edict had to be extended.

However, as far as the disbandment of the armed formations is concerned, the problem is complicated by the presence at one time of several declarations concerning the sovereignty of the republics which stipulate the right to their own armies.

We asked USSR People's Deputy V. Lopatin to comment on this situation.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Do you not consider that the republics' formation of their own armies undermines the very existence of the USSR as a state?

[Lopatin] The point is that the right to one's own armed forces is an inalienable part of genuine sovereignty. And this proposition is not new. Upon conclusion of the 1922 treaty questions constituting merely the FOUNDATIONS of defense and security were assigned to the jurisdiction of the USSR. The right, however, to one's own army formations was legislatively enshrined in the constitution right up to 1977.

In addition, the declaration on the right to one's own armed forces does not signify their actual formation. These matters will, I believe, be decided in the new Union treaty.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] In a word, all is normal and long live the new "Warsaw Pact"?

[Lopatin] All-Union forces and republic armies are not mutually exclusive concepts. The point being that it is only at the Union level that many questions of the security of all may be decided—those concerning, for example, nuclear weapons and other powerful deterrent weapons. On the other hand, the most dependable security today is when it is clear who and what the soldiers will be defending.

And in this connection I consider very timely and important the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA appeal for 19 August to be declared civil peace day.

Baltic Republics

21 Aug Lithuanian Supreme Council Session Carried

Agenda Announced

LD2108083390

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0700 GMT on 21 August begins a live relay from an extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council being held in Vilnius' Supreme Council Hall.

At that time the announcer sets the scene by stating that Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene is on vacation in Greece and will be represented at the session by Algirdas Brazauskas. The announcer says that the first item on the agenda will be the political situation in Lithuania on the eve of the negotiations with Moscow. This time will be debated in a closed sitting.

At 0714 GMT, Vytautas Landsbergis and Ceslovas Stankevicius take the chair.

At 0715 GMT, Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis opens the session. He asks Deputy Sabutis to read the agenda. It will include: the internal political situation in Lithuania before the negotiations with Moscow, amendments to the cooperative law, the inscription of nationality in Lithuanian identity documents, and the government reply to the question by Deputy Laucius on its inactivity after Soviet soldiers shot Lithuanian citizen Miniauslas in Kaunas. Proposals to include other items will be put to a vote. According to Landsbergis, the next session of the Supreme Council will start on 4 September.

At 0722 GMT, questions concerning the agenda are raised.

Debate Items for Agenda

LD2108084790

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0738 GMT continues its live relay from an extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council being held in Vilnius Supreme Council Hall.

At 0738 GMT, amendments and additions to the agenda continued to be proposed.

At 0745 GMT, deputies agree that the first item on the agenda will be the internal and foreign political situation in Lithuanian on the eve of the negotiations with Moscow.

At 0800 GMT, deputies decide by a majority vote to include the appointment of the delegation to negotiations in the agenda. The debate then moves on to other items to include in the agenda. At 0815 GMT, with 124 deputies present, the session votes on the agenda. It is not approved.

At 0820 GMT, a majority vote, deputies decide to debate the first item on the agenda and leave the decision on other items on the agenda for discussion later.

At 0822 GMT, by a majority vote, deputies decide that the session will be open for the debate on the first item on the agenda.

At 0823 GMT, interval until 0900 GMT is announced.

Baltic Relations Viewed

LD2108113490

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0904 GMT resumes its live relay from an extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council being held in Vilnius' Supreme Council Hall.

At 0904 GMT, the announcer says the session is about to begin debate on the internal and foreign political situation in Lithuania on the eve of negotiations with Moscow.

At 0908 GMT, Deputies Kazmieras Motieka and Cesklovas Stankevicius take the chair.

At 0909 GMT, Vytautas Landsbergis moves to the rostrum to deliver a report on the first item on the agenda. Discussing Lithuania's relations with foreign countries, he speaks of good relations with the other Baltic states and says that Lithuania's decision to conduct parallel negotiations with Russia and the Soviet Union is correct. The Baltic states no longer belong to the Soviet Union, inspite of Moscow's position on this issue. Moldavia has already recognized Lithuania's independence, he says. Bilateral consultations with Belorussia may start soon. So far, Landsbergis says, the Soviet Union's policy toward Lithuania is based on illusions, and is being urged on by a segment of Lithuania's population. The best way to conduct negotiations with Moscow is on the basis of three-plus-one, but one-plus-one negotiations could also take place.

Speaking of other foreign countries, Landesbergis notes the problem of the recognition of Lithuania's independence, stating that in some cases the diplomatic recognition of independence is not far away. Western countries are starting to realize that it is no longer clear what kind of a country the Soviet Union has become in view of the changes taking place there. Lithuania is striving to establish all possible relations with foreign countries. The Supreme Council expresses the will of the people of Lithuania and there should be no doubt about the 11 March decision on independence. There must be no restrictions on people coming to Lithuania from abroad. Unfortunately, Landsbergis says, economic destabilization is taking place in Lithuania and people often unjustifiably blame legislative bodies for this state of affairs. Black marketeering must be eliminated and any anti-state activity must not be tolerated.

At 0950 GMT, Landsbergis ends his speech.

At 0951 GMT, questions are put to Landsbergis on various economic problems, followed by debate on the first agenda item.

At 1030 GMT, an interval until 1200 GMT is announced.

Brazauskas Speaks on Talks

LD2108140990

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1200 GMT resumes its live relay from an extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council being held in Vilnius' Supreme Council Hall.

The next to speak after the break is Algirdas Brazauskas, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He urges starting negotiations with Moscow without delay because economic matters should be discussed. The fourth quarter of the year and winter are approaching, and economic agreements should be concluded with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's economic system is breaking up and it might affect Lithuania's economy. Therefore, the republic should have its economic borders and its customs system. The problems of seperating Lithuania's borders from the Soviet Union should be discussed above all at the coming negotiations. He announces that there is a new organization in Lithuania uniting enterprises under the union administration. Brazauskas ends his speech at 1224 GMT.

At 1225 GMT, questions are put to Brazauskas on economic problems.

At 1255 GMT, debates on the first item on the agenda continue. Deputy Macys objects to commercial prices at a time when there are no correspondingly high wages; people are extremely indignant at the flourishing black market in the republic.

At 1313 GMT, reception becomes unmonitorable.

At 1322 GMT, reception improves. The minister of trade quotes figures concerning the supply of various goods. Reception again deteriorates to poor to unmonitorable in parts. A substantial part of the speech by Sinevicius is devoted to the black market, commercial prices, goods in short supply, and so on.

At 1343 GMT, an interval is announced until 1415 GMT.

Lithuania's Shenin Attends Party Plenum 18 Aug

Interviewed on Outcome

LD1808223790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Interview with Oleg Shenin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent Elyanye Kurklietyte on 18 August; place of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] A plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party [LCP] Central Committee was held in Vilnius today. Oleg Semenovich Shenin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum. We present his interview with our correspondent Elyanye Kurklietyte.

[Kurklietyte] You have now heard the first things the Communists of Lithuania have had to say and listened to their instructions. What are your impressions?

[Shenin] I have already had to listen to a good deal. I had imagined that the situation was a complex and difficult one, I would say, and of course in connection with this there is a great variety of mood.

It does, however, seem to me that passions are perhaps a little overheated. After all, a good deal is now being done so that we might have a Union of a new quality and at the same time to expand considerably the possibilities of each republic. We have essentially stated that each republic is a sovereign state and that the Union is a Union of sovereign states and the president is doing everything to have put into effect as quickly as possible the premises made both at the level of the Presidential Council and at that of the 28th CPSU Congress, where they were to be heard.

I received today a large number of letters and the following thoughts are evident in many notes: the cadres are wrong—they should have been changed; what is the CPSU Central Committee considering; why aren't measures applied to this or that government, this or that leader, even a specific ministry or department at the union or republican level?

We have to understand. It is what we all wanted. We all voted for it. We all spoke in favor of it, that we have divided legislative, executive, and judicial power, that our party now has an entirely different function. It is a ruling party, that's true, inasmuch as the majority of that party is to be found in all structures. It is a ruling party. However, it rejects those powers it has assumed. It refuses to be some kind of state machinery. It does not intend to set all its cards directly.

I think that it is not so much in reproaches that we should be engaged—reasonable criticism is useful for everyone, and incidentially, everyone accepts it properly. Mikhail Sergeyivich Gorbachev also accepts it quite correctly. Nonetheless, it is, no doubt, our task to organize the work of the entire party in such a way—that of all the party organizations in such a way—as to implement the policy the president is conducting.

[Kurklietyte] Back to Lithuania and your advice to the aktiv of Lithuania's Communists.

[Shenin] First, once again, weighing things up, and patience. There is no need to go to extreme assessments. I think that is the first thing and action comes second. Keep working. We look on the LCP as a republican party that can help us and other party organizations in many ways since considerable experience has already been accumulated.

Aside from the fact that so much has been done, in addition to claims on the center and the top, many people have said that we, too, could work in a different way. Our Central Committee could work in a different way and every member of the Central Committee can work more energetically than he does, and moreover every Communist can work more energetically than he does.

More on Party Plenum

LD1808220190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Video report by Vilnius correspondent A. Palyus at the Lithuanian Communist Party (pro-CPSU) plenum in Vilnius on 18 August, including interview with CPSU Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member O.S. Shenin; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today in Vilnius a plenum of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPSU) Central Committee was held.

[Palyus] It is not necessary to look far for examples of the complicated situation in the republic. In the building where the plenum participants are gathering, the two central committees of the two Lithuanian Communist Parties are working on different floors. There is little uniting them today apart from the common roof.

The participants in the plenum have gathered to discuss the tasks of the republic party organization in the present situation.

The plenum was opened by Mykolas Burokevicius, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPSU) Central Committee. Participating in its work is Oleg Semenovich Shenin, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary. The discussions were sharp, and at times too emotional, which probably did not assist in the calm discussion of coming business and plans for the future. [video shows scenes in and outside the plenum hall, with shot of Burokevicius and Shenin]

[Shenin] I understand that the situation is complicated and complex, and somehow there are, probably, attitudes involving some uncertainty on certain issues of the day. But in my view, everything that is being done just now at Union level—all the work that the president wants to carry out on a Union agreement, all the work that has now been begun on consultations with the republics—this nevertheless allows us to finally put everything in its place.

I have the impression that the party is already beginning to leave the laboratory checks and go out onto a field of industrial production, so to speak. Experience is appearing, it is worked on, and it is very good that such experience is appearing. It is useful not only for the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPSU), but it is useful for the whole of our party, because all of a sudden we will be working under multiparty conditions—we will be working under conditions of pluralism of opinion. We need to get used to the idea that it is now necessary in life, so to speak, to show the rightness of one's opinions through specific deeds—it is necessary to act. [video shows interview in progress in foyer]

[Palyus] Tomorrow Oleg Semenovich Shenin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, will continue to become acquainted with the situation in Lithuania.

Shenin Attends Klaipeda Communists' Meeting

PM2008124390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Yu. Stroganov: "Sticking to Their Guns"]

[Text] Vilnius—O.S. Shenin, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Lithuania, toured the port city of Klaipeda Sunday [19 August]. It is home to one of the largest Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) party organizations. Around 140 primary organizations numbering 6,000 Communists have already been restored. Irrespective of the complex economic and sociopolitical situation, collectives like the Litrybprom Association and the Baltiya Shipyard are continuing to work successfully and have not succumbed to rally mania.

A meeting of the party and economic aktiv attended by CPSU Central Committee Politburo Members O.S. Shenin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and M.M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, discussed the problems facing the city and republic Communists in today's ambiguous situation. Proof of the fact that the port city's Communists are not only sticking to their guns but, equally, are building up their prestige among Klaipeda's working people, was provided by the presentation at the aktiv meeting of party cards to several young Communists who have decided to link their careers with the party during this difficult time.

The aktiv meeting participants were addressed by O.S. Shenin, who answered a number of questions. M.M. Burokevicius also answered questions.

CPSU Central Committee Politburo Members O.S. Shenin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and M.M. Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, saw the sights of Klaipeda and laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin monument.

O.S. Shenin left Lithuania the same day.

Lithuania Names Commission for RSFSR Talks

90UN2619B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian
24 Jul 90 p 1

["Decree of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council on Negotiations Between the Republic of Lithuania and the RSFSR"]

Text] In answer to a proposal by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] to begin negotiations, the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council decrees:

1. To approve an Republic of Lithuania parliamentary-state commission to conduct consultations with the RSFSR composed of the following members:

C.-V. Stankevicius—chairman of the commission.
L. Andrikene.
P. Budris—director of the Museum of Art.
E. Vilkas.
K. Glaveckas.
J. Karvelis.
V. Katkus.
A. Merchaytis—deputy minister of economics.
C. Okincicas.
R. Paulauskas.
N.-L. Rasimavicius.
K. Uoka.
V. Cepaitis.
Z. Shlichite.
V. Yurna—deputy minister of finance.

2. To charge this commission with conducting consultations with authorized representatives of the RSFSR and agree on questions of principles, object, and conditions of negotiations.

3. To coordinate preparations for negotiations with commissions or delegations of the Republic of Latvia and the Republic of Estonia.

4. To present proposals with regard to working groups of experts which will be approved by the Presidium of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council.

[Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council
[Dated] Vilnius, 19 July 1990

Lithuanian Party Proposes Name Change

PM2108125790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
15 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[INTERFAX-attributed report: "Will There Be Two Social Democratic Parties in Lithuania?"]

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent reports that the statement issued by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the autonomous Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, during his visit to the United States to the effect that the autonomous Lithuanian Communist Party will be renamed the Social Democratic Party at its next congress, is receiving extensive comment in Vilnius. According to preliminary data, the congress will be held in October. Professor Kazimeras Antanavicius, leader of Lithuania's Social Democrats, sharply criticized these plans on the part of the Lithuanian Communist Party leadership in LIETUVOS RYTAS ("LITHUANIAN MORNING"). He pointed out that the Social Democratic Party, which has existed in Lithuania since 1896, has never cooperated with the Communists and that it would be impolite of the Lithuanian Communist Party to lay claim to the former's name.

Lithuania Issues Statement on Border Control

LD1708124790 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian
0900 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis has returned from Switzerland where, as you know, the 37th European Lithuanian Study Week was held. We have received one of the documents that was signed there: The Appeal by Representatives of the Lithuanian Republic and Emigres to the World's Nations and States.

It states: The Supreme Council of the Lithuanian Republic, by the 11 March 1990 acts, has proclaimed the continuity of the independent Lithuanian Republic that existed in 1918-40, and has by this act directly reminded the world's nations of the current nature of relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the USSR.

For this reason, representatives of the Lithuanian Republic and its emigre community, having discussed the current situation, have declared that the restraints placed upon the Lithuanian Republic must be removed as soon as possible.

The Lithuanian Republic, seeking to participate in the association of European democratic nations, seeking to ensure citizen's human rights, seeking to implement economic and political reforms set forth by its laws, must itself be in control of its state borders.

The USSR must not interfere, in any manner, with the Lithuanian people's association with individuals residing elsewhere, or prevent the Lithuanian Republic from joining any international organizations.

We trust that democratic societies and governments are not in accord with such usurpations and violations of Lithuania's sovereignty and that they will contribute to the normalization of the situation in Lithuania and the entire Baltic region.

The appeal was signed by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Kazimieras Motieka, Chairman of Lithuanian World Association Administration Vytautas Bieliauskas, and chairmen of other countries' Lithuanian associations.

Vilnius Reports Problems at Oil Refinery

LD1808100490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Critical situation obtains at the Mazeikiai oil refinery today. Reservoirs destined for the production of gasoline A-76, diesel fuel, and fuel oil are full. Due to the lack of cisterns, the removal of products is taking place sporadically. Consultations with the management of Baltic Railways are essential.

So for only three technological lines are operating at the refinery.

Vilnius Residents Protest 'Attacks on Monuments'

PM1908195290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Stroganov: "Attacks on Monuments"]

[Text] Vilnius—Thousands of Vilnius residents gathered yesterday by the V.I. Lenin monument for a civic protest. The aim was to oppose the destruction in the republic's cities of monuments to the leader of the revolution and to prominent politicians. As is well known, statues of V.I. Lenin. F. Dzerzhinskiy, and the Lithuanian revolutionary V. Kapsukas have been taken down in Kaunas alone.

"It has become state policy to consign to oblivion the memory of the 138,000 Soviet soldiers who died in the battles to free Lithuania from the German fascist invaders," the demonstrators' appeal to the Lithuanian Council of Ministers, the Vilnius self-government council, and Lithuania's inhabitants says.

The Lithuanian government recently advocated setting up a museum of monuments from the "socialist era," whose location is to be determined later. It urged people to refrain from arbitrarily taking down statues and suggested that this issue be coordinated with the relevant authorities.

Lithuanian Town Broadcasts 'Own' TV Programs

LD1708221790 Vilnius International Service in English 2200 GMT 16 Aug 90

[From "DX Program No. 39"]

[Text] On 25th July the small town of Silale in the western part of Lithuania started its own television broadcasts. They are on the air twice weekly after the close down of the Lithuanian television, which is relayed here on channel R-6 from a 100 watt transmitter.

One of the two weekly broadcasts is compiled by the district municipality of Silale and the other by the local group of Sajudis. To produce the program a special television studio was set up, which by the way is still looking for an editor in chief.

It is worthwhile to note that all those positive in my opinion changes are taking place in the zone of the Kaunas radio and television transmitting center. In Vilnius, however, the developments seem to be going a conservative way. A television transmitter on channel R-11, which previously was used to relay the second program of the Central Television from Moscow, is now inactive and so far there are no talks about reactivating it.

So using the occasion, the Lithuanian branch of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has asked the Lithuanian Telecommunications Ministry to grant it a right to use the transmitter for broadcasting of its own television program. The ministry has not made any final decision yet but like other proposals this may be accepted.

Lithuanian Party Operates Radio Station

LD1708222590 Vilnius International Service in English 2200 GMT 16 Aug 90

[From "DX Program No. 39"]

[Text] Speaking of the Lithuanian branch of the CPSU, they already run a radio station, named Tarybu Lietuva. The Lithuanian DX Club (Banga) has issued an audio cassette which might be of interest to DXers and DX clubs, especially to those compiling DX archives. The cassette contains facts on Tarybu Lietuva which were already broadcast in our DX programs, its identification signal, and the very first regular broadcast which us recorded in full. All comments are in English.

The cassette may be obtained for 15 international reply coupons from the Lithuanian DX Club, PO Box 1646646232010232010 Vilnius Lithuania or at the English section of Radio Vilnius.

Lithuanian Towns Receive Satellite TV Relays

LD1708205790 Vilnius International Service in English 2200 GMT 16 Aug 90

[From "DX program No. 39"]

[Text] Two more towns in Lithuania have introduced satellite television relays, Alytus and Druskininkai, both located in the southern part of the country.

Alytus is Lithuania's sixth largest city, it has a population of more than 70,000. Two television transmitters, both of the capacity of only 100 watts located here, are relaying Soviet Central Television. From 2 August onward, one of them has been used to relay the German satellite television program SAT-1 as well. This program is on air after the close down of the Second program of Central Television and runs until the close down of SAT-1. Besides, on week days SAT-1 is also relayed from 12 to 15 hours UTC [coordinated universal time] on the same channel, that is channel R6.

Druskininkai is a small spa town in the very south of the country and has only one television transmitter which relays Lithuanian television on channel R-1. This is now used to relay the German SAT-1 program as well. These relays started on 1 August and are on the air daily after the close down of the Lithuanian television until the close down of SAT-1.

In both cases the SAT-1 program is feeded to the transmitters by microwave link from Juragiai, a small village south west of Kaunas, where the television transmitting station of the Kaunas radio and television transmitting center is located.

New Lithuanian Newspaper Published in Kaunas

LD1808221390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2050 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Summary] The first newspaper of the Kaunas City Council KAUNO LAIKAS [KAUNAS TIME] was on sale today. It is an illustrated 16-page newspaper to be published in 30,000 copies twice weekly—on Wednesdays and Fridays.

Reportage on Prunskiene's Visit to Greece

WA2108154590

For Greek reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Prunskiene to Greece, please see the Greece section of the 21 August West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Latvian-Moldavian Cooperation Discussed

90UN2619A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 15 Jul 90 p 3

[Unattributed "Official Report"]

[Text] A meeting between parliamentarians of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova and the Republic of Latvia took place on 11 and 12 July in Kishinev. Taking part in the meeting were the following:

On behalf of the SSR of Moldova—Ion Khadyrke, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet; Viktor Pushkash, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet; Konstantin Oborok, first deputy prime minister; Vasile Nedelchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Standing Commission on Interethnic Ties; Mikhay Patrash, chairman of the Supreme Soviet's standing Commission on Economics and the Budget; and other officials;

and on behalf of the Republic of Latvia—Dainis Ivans, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet; Indulis Berzins, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet's standing Commission on Foreign Affairs; Janis Krumins, secretary of that same commission; and other officials.

The meeting between the parliamentarians of the SSR of Moldova and the Republic of Latvia was the first official contact between the two states directed at preparing summit level negotiations and concluding a bilateral treaty on friendship and cooperation.

The similarity of the fates of Moldova and Latvia, the identical consequences of the 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the community of goals and ideals affirmed in the declarations adopted by the republics' supreme soviets on the sovereignty of the SSR of Moldova and on the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia, and the friendly ties between them lent the meeting a spirit of accord, mutual understanding, and readiness for mutual support. The parties affirmed their intentions to contribute actively, thoroughly, and systematically to the establishment of direct political, economic, trade, scientific, technical, educational, tourist, and other ties on the basis of equality and mutual profit.

The meeting participants informed one another about the situation in their own republics.

The parties see the achievement of many political and economic goals in the conclusion of a bilateral treaty on friendship and cooperation between the SSR of Moldova and the Republic of Latvia.

The meeting concluded with the adoption of a Moldavian-Latvian communique, which is published below.

Moldavian-Latvian Communique

At a meeting which took plaqe between parliamentarians of the states of Latvia and Moldova, the parties agreed on the following:

a) to form working groups to prepare and compare the text of a bilateral treaty which would contribute to the establishment of direct political, economic, trade, scientific, technical, educational, tourist, and other ties on the basis of equality and mutual profit;

b) to exchange parliamentary and other information of mutual interest;

c) to prepare a summit meeting for 1 August 1990.

The parties noted the need to create an effective mechanism which would not permit anyone to interfere in their internal affairs and dispose of the fate of the Moldavian and Latvian peoples.

[Signed] I. Khadyrke, first deputy chairman of the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet; D. Ivans, first deputy chairman of the Republic of Latvia Supreme Soviet
[Dated] Kishinev, 12 July 1990

RSFSR, Latvian Youth Unions Urge Cooperation

90UN2603C Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 20 Jul 90 p 2

[Agreement Between the Union for the Progress of the Youth of Latvia and the Leninist Communist Youth League of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and the appeal of their Central Committees to the people's deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the Russian and Latvian Republics]

[Text] **Agreement Between the SPM [Union for the Progress of Youth] of Latvia and the LKSM [Leninist Communist Youth League] of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]**

The Union for the Progress of the Youth of Latvia and the Leninist Communist Youth League of the RSFSR,

realizing that similar problems confront the youth of our republics,

recognizing the need for joint efforts of the LKSM of the RSFSR and the SPM of Latvia in the formation of a youth policy of the governments of the Latvian Republic and the RSFSR,

believing that the development of ties between the youth of the Russian Federation and of Latvia is a necessary condition for the future establishment of equal rights and friendly relations between our people,

and striving for mutual cooperation,

have arrived at an agreement:

1. To establish direct ties between the Central Committees and to promote the extension of ties at all levels and in all spheres of activity of the LKSM of the RSFSR and the SPM of Latvia. To provide an effective exchange of information and experience for this; to conclude an agreement on questions that constitute a mutual interest, right up to the organization of joint structures.

2. To coordinate the political activity of our unions in the interests of the youth of Latvia and the Russian Federation for the purpose of the quickest possible formation and implementation of a state youth policy in our republics. To conclude a separate agreement on actions in the political sphere that provides for the joint development of draft laws and coordinated political actions for the purpose of forming public opinion and exerting an influence on the position of the parliaments of both republics and organs of executive authority. To submit a proposal to our own governments to review the question of a state youth policy at the forthcoming negotiations between the RSFSR and the Latvian Republic.

3. To conduct a coordinated economic policy and to coordinate the activity of administrative formations established with the participation of our unions for the purpose of their effective work in the resolution of youth problems in Latvia and the Russian Federation.

The agreement goes into effect after it is approved by the bureaus of the Central Committees of the SPM of Latvia and the LKSM of the RSFSR.

[Signed] First Secretary of the SPM of Latvia J.V. Urbanovics, First Secretary of the LKSM of the RSFSR V.V. Yelagin

Appeal to the People's Deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the RSFSR and the Latvian Republic

The Central Committees of the Union for the Progress of the Youth of Latvia and the Leninist Communist Youth League of the RSFSR appeal to the Supreme Soviets of the Russian Federation and Latvia, and to the delegations they have empowered, and welcome the fact that negotiations have begun between the parliaments and the governments of our republics. We believe that direct contacts will promote a strengthening of the political and economic sovereignty of the Russian Federation and of Latvia and the restoration of relations of equal rights and partnership between sovereign states whose beginning was marked 70 years ago by a treaty between the RSFSR and the Latvian Republic.

We believe that the negotiations will touch on many aspects of the development and mutual relations of our republics.

We hope that there will also be questions among them that are associated with the resolution of youth problems and the participation of youth in the rebirth of the Russian Federation and of Latvia. While not claiming a monopoly right to express the interests of all youth of the republic, but realizing our own responsibility for its fate, and possessing the necessary traditions and experience, we declare our readiness to take part in the development and implementation of intergovernmental agreements in the area of state youth policy.

Adding to the process of our republics and our people coming together, the Latvian SPM and the RSFSR LKSM have concluded a direct agreement on cooperation between our unions. We believe that this will serve the interests of the development of the friendship and mutual understanding of our youth.

We wish the delegations of our republics success in the forthcoming negotiations, and we hope that their outcome is favorable to the well-being of the peoples of the Russian Federation and Latvia.

[Signed] The Central Committees of the SPM of Latvia and the LKSM of the RSFSR.

Latvian KGB Examines Volunteer Law Units

90UN2603D Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 21 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by KGB Press Group: "In Latvia's KGB"]

[Text] On 12 July of this year, a regular meeting of the collegium of the Committee for State Security of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] was held which examined the question of the status and measures for improving work in the fight against organized crime, and which discussed the situation associated with the establishment of formations for the maintenance of public order by independent organizations.

After hearing information on the establishment of detachments for the maintenance of public order by various independent organizations, the collegium stated that the formation of "aizsargs," worker detachments, and other groups is continuing, which is a violation of the requirements set forth by Decree No. 6 of the Council of Ministers of the Latvian Republic "On Certain Questions Concerning the Maintenance of Public Order," which regulates the establishment and employment of maintenance of public order detachments.

The formation of numerically significant volunteer organizations that do not have a defined legal status and that adhere to an opposing political orientation can lead to a destabilization of the situation in the republic. It was also noted that individual articles of some republic newspapers and publications concerning the aforementioned formations in a number of cases create an unhealthy hullabaloo and needlessly heat up the situation among the population.

The collegium confirmed information that was submitted to the Latvian Supreme Soviet earlier concerning the fact that the republic KGB does not have data at present regarding the presence of armed "militants" who are planning an attack on the arms depot of the Soviet Army and who maintain ties with similar formations in other regions of the country.

The collegium resolved that KGB organs will continue to study the situation in the republic in order to prevent possible violations of criminal legislation associated with the establishment of any armed formations and preparations for changing the constitutional system through violent means, and that it will keep the government informed in a timely way.

Latvian Government Expenditures Summarized

90UN2619C Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 24 Jul 90 p 1

[Letter to leaders of the Republic of Latvia from the board of the Duma of the People's Front of Latvia]

[Text] **To Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Republic of Latvia Supreme Soviet.**

To Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Republic of Latvia Council of Ministers.

To chairmen of the city, rayon, and rural soviets of people's deputies of the Republic of Latvia.

Many of the letters, telephone calls, and personal conversations that the NFL [People's Front of Latvia] has received have expressed alarm about the work of the organs of state power and administration, particularly about the increase in the cost of maintaining workers of the administrative apparat.

The board of the NFL Duma requests that the following figures receive maximum circulation in the republic and local press:

—how much money was spent on maintaining the apparat of the organs of power and administration and how much money is being spent today;

—whether expenditures in this area have increased or decreased and why.

The Board of the NFL Duma believes that the presentation of this information to the republic's residents is a politically important measure.

[Signed] **Board of the NFL Duma**
[Dated] **17 July 1990**

Savisaar Comments on Upcoming Price Hikes

LD2008133590

[Editorial Report] Talinn Domestic Service in Estonian at 1700 GMT on 20 August broadcasts a five-minute report on a meeting held in Tallinn on 19 August of district elders and economists in connection with the plans put forward by the government to discontinue state subsidies on milk and meat products from 1 October. This would entail price rises and compensation would be paid for the difference.

The announcer interviews Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, who says that the idea of discontinuing subsidies in Estonia was first circulated a couple of years ago. The present government program is based on this. "We see it as an essential measure toward a possible economic recovery. Besides, we do not need to look for models from afar because it was after all somewhere around three to six months after subsidies were dropped that the market and economy in both Poland and Czechoslovakia demonstrated a tendency toward improvement. That means that it is one of those measures which at first glance is of course unpopular—who indeed likes it when prices go up—but in the long run this will bring positive results."

Savisaar says that measures are envisaged to that the less-paid sections of the population would not lose out. If at first it was questioned whether everybody should be paid equal amounts of compensation, then now, Savisaar says, the position is that these payments must be structured according to individual incomes. He says that it is also envisaged that there will be some basic ranges of food will still be produced at lower prices, say one kind of cottage cheese or one kind of sausage, which the state will pay for. He says that there will also be a public discussion on the subject.

Estonia's Toome Critiques Savisaar Government

90UN2593A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Indrek Toome by Y. Kask, reprinted from PAEVALEHT 31 July 1990; place and date not given: "What Would I Have Done Differently?"]

[Text] **Indrek Toome headed the previous cabinet of ministers. A former Estonian Communist Party Central Committee secretary for ideology, in the summer of 1988 he supported the birth of the People's Front and the formation of that movement. In turn Edgar Savisaar, who was in charge of the People's Front movement, supported Toome as well as Vaino Valjas and Arnold Ruutel prior to their election as USSR people's deputies in spring of last year. The creation of the democratic "Free Estonia" Association put Toome and Savisaar in opposition with one another. Nevertheless, the former refused to engage in direct criticism of his successor...**

[Kask] After the March elections you refused to run for the position of prime minister. Today the government of Edgar Savisaar has been functioning slightly more than four months. As prime minister what would you have done differently in his place?

[Toome] I consider it neither right nor ethical to give an evaluation of my successor at this time. In democratic states there is a custom for the opposition to spare the leadership of the government and the cabinet during their first 100 days. This is the minimum period of time which allows us to make our first conclusions concerning their actions.

It is easy to be wise in hindsight. As a result, while answering your direct question I will only name those problems which I would certainly have decided in another fashion.

In the first place, I would have continued an active **eastern policy** at all levels of the Moscow governmental structure. Even with today's economic chaos, it would have been possible to guarantee deliveries to the population of Estonia as well as the stable functioning of the enterprises. Quarrels with the leadership of the USSR and the departments upon which we will nonetheless be dependent for the near future, of course, allow us to demonstrate to the Estonian people how firm and brave we are. But they also significantly complicate supplying Estonia, the process of our reforms, and, most importantly, the process of winning our state independence.

I am concerned about the government's unilateral "bold" steps to reduce deliveries to the all-Union fund and not to fulfill its obligations to the other Union republics. Each such unilateral step results in new economic measures which worsen our situation still more. Our relations with the Union funds are in need of changes, but the changes should be introduced as a result of negotiations so that we may learn where we are winning and where we are losing and so that the government maintains control over the process of economic development.

In the second place, this may sound somewhat reminiscent of the period of stagnation, but I would do everything to maintain **governmental control over prices and wages. This is a key issue in balancing the economy.** We must make the transition to market principles of determining prices, but at the same time we also need to make the transition to new principles of evaluating the working force and we need to guarantee the stability of the standard of living in the transition period. The new price levels should agree with the levels of new wages, pensions, stipends, and grants.

I am in fundamental disagreement with the opinion of the current government to the effect that the subsistence level should not be determined inasmuch as we cannot provide that standard of living anyway. This is a dangerous and familiar position to take: If we cannot solve the problem, let us simply keep quiet about it. The subsistence level should be the basis upon which is built a new system of payments for labor, pensions, stipends, and grants. It is already impossible to stop the process of inflation, but it must be controlled. We should already be making corrections in the payment of labor taking into account the situation which has arisen, calculations of the inflation index, and published data.

We had already made the decision to discontinue subsidizing production of some goods, including food goods, last year, but that step presupposed the simultaneous payment of subsidies directly to the population. If we raise prices on agricultural products on 1 October, then a recalculation of wages, pensions, stipends, and subsidies should also be carried out by 1 October. We have to pay close attention so that the population does not suffer from too low a level of income. Without exception, each consumer has the right to his portion of subsidized wages. All roads which lead to a leveling of the wages of the population are faulty roads.

But incomes should be varied according to the quantity of labor, not the quality.

In the transition to a market economy it is perfectly natural for the currencies of foreign states to move freely on our domestic market. But while organizing the corresponding trade, we need to closely consider the social background and the problems that arise. The situation may arise where a portion of the population, selling its hands, its talent, and itself abroad, finds itself provided with better goods and services while that part of the population which remains to work at our enterprises and institutions for the sake of the homeland only has the right to lick its lips in front of such stores. If we allow such a situation to arise, we will inflict an irreparable moral blow upon our society, which is already ill without that.

In the third place, **today's breakdown of law and order and the resulting demoralization of society** present a great danger to our society and the future of an independent Republic of Estonia. The crimes themselves, which we see every evening under the heading 01, 02, 03, are only a sore which has broken through against the background of the illness of the whole organism. The psychology according to which I do not have to observe those laws which do not please me or suit me is ruinous. Those who ignore laws today will also ignore them in the future. Bad laws should be changed into good ones, but only by legal means. The government must hurry. An end must be put to the disregard of laws. We still have not freed ourselves from corruption. We are still completely subject to it. If there is not order, there is no administration.

In the fourth place, conflict between the government and the Bank of Estonia should be avoided. I am convinced that with the support of the government the Bank of Estonia could have issued krona and exchanged rubles over the whole territory of Estonia within the promised time. We would already have our own currency in circulation if the government and the administrative and economic organs had carried out the necessary preparatory work, if the people and the businesses had been given the necessary reference points, and if laws on the borders and customs had been prepared. The government must deal with this in the course of this year. The people are not interested in whose point of view comes out on top or who will be accused of the failure in the very end. The people need the feeling of being protected and a real hope that their material welfare will improve.

In the fifth place, I am not 100 percent convinced that I would have notable success in resolving the problems of northeastern Estonia, but it is clear now that governmental control over this territory is even weaker. This is one reflection of the failure of the eastern policy. With regard to Integral, declarations should not have been written. Work should have been done in Moscow in order to nip such ideas in the bud. Under no circumstances was it possible to halt intensive and constructive efforts to hand Union enterprises over to the republic. The situation which has arisen slows down not only our economic restructuring but also the course of political processes.

In the sixth place, I am alarmed by the fact that while conducting a large and rewarding effort to search for economic and political consultants abroad, **we are making poor use of our local spiritual potential.** My meetings with many international experts have convinced me that no one here needs their advice.

[Kask] Little has been heard lately about the activities and views of the association Free Estonia.

[Toome] Free Estonia is functioning. We purposely do not get carried away with resolutions, declarations, and efforts to clarify wording. We try to carefully and deeply analyze the course of the development of psychological, political, and economic processes so that when necessary we will be ready to carry out the activities of a constructive opposition. This also explains why until now I have refrained from criticizing Savisaar. Apparently as of August, Free Estonia will become more active. We will not give up our goals of achieving tolerance, competency, and cooperation in politics.

Speaking of the future, we need to keep in mind that we will not survive in isolation. But the questions of whom to associate with—North, South, West, or East—and how we should associate in general will be decided by an independent Estonia. The goal of Free Estonia is to reach just such a moment of choice.

Estonian Supreme Soviet on Ties With RSFSR

LD2108093490 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Excerpts] First of all Raul Malk will sum up the day at the extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Estonia.

[Malk] At Toompea today the 14th extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Estonia started work. [passage omitted] The first item of the agenda was talks with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]; the establishing of a delegation and its powers, with Ulo Nugis, head of the Supreme Soviet being the keynote speaker here. [passage omitted]

Ulo Nugis, head of the Supreme Soviet has been answering dozens of questions today in respect of matters pertaining to the talks with the RSFSR, and it seems to me that one of the central issues is indeed the foundation for the talks. And so, Ulo Nugis, will the [1920] Peace of Tartu be indeed the foundation for the relations between Estonia and Russia in this treaty?

[Begin Nugis recording] I would be bold as to claim that in essence the Peace of Tartu will and must be the foundation for the talks. However, as of today, I cannot as yet be held responsible for the formulation which would be ratified by both legislative bodies: that is by the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR and by our Supreme Soviet. Our side demands a very detailed explanation and reference to the Peace of Tartu while the RSFSR side, however, would like this to be indirect. But in essence the recognition is there. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Estonian Supreme Soviet Discusses Taxation

LD2008211190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Excerpts] On the agenda of the session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, which opened today, were the draft laws on personal taxation, taxes on enterprises, state customs, and payment for study permits. The deputies rejected by a majority vote a proposal to suspend the effectiveness of the decision of the Tallinn City Soviet on raising the cost of public transport fares by 10 kopecks. A draft by Deputy Panfilov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, on urgent measures to ensure the necessary level of retail prices and a living wage for citizens of the republic was also rejected. It had been earlier examined in the Supreme Soviet Commission for the Economy, and it was decided that the problems raised in the draft will be examined during the course of discussion of the draft laws on taxation.

The session heard information from Nugis, speaking of the Supreme Soviet, who was in the chair, about the talks with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

[RSFSR] which were held in Moscow last week. As the rapporteur noted, Russia is prepared to have official talks with Estonia proceeding from the Supreme Soviet decision adopted on 30 March on Estonia's status. [passage omitted]

The session continues its work tomorrow.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Session Reported

PM1908193190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by L. Levitskiy: "Estonia Without a Constitution"]

[Text] Tallinn—An extraordinary session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet has adopted the resolution "On Relations Between the Estonian Republic and the USSR."

It begins by making the following assertion: "The USSR Law of 6 August 1940 'On the Incorporation of the Estonian Republic into the USSR' is in no way binding on the Estonian Republic." It also recognizes the following: "The Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution no longer regulates state relations or public relations in Estonia."

Another statement it makes is this: "Neither the USSR Constitution nor subsequent laws may serve as the basis for regulating relations with the USSR." In other words, henceforth neither the former Estonian Constitution nor the country's constitution and laws will be valid on Estonian territory....

Emotions surrounding the extraordinary session have been heated for almost a month. The most radical national organizations have been demanding that a clear statement be made on a free, independent Estonia. And, moreover, that this statement be made on 6 August—on this day, 50 years ago, the country's Supreme Soviet incorporated Estonia into the USSR. But this kind of categorical demand seems excessive to those politicians who realize that the way to independence lies not in declarations but in talks with the USSR. The following question was asked at one meeting in the Supreme Soviet Presidium:

"Is there any sense in repeating everything that Lithuania has done, even going as far as declaring a moratorium on our own decisions?"

A. Ruutel, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, delivered a report at the session on relations with the USSR. He believes that it is essential to begin the relevant talks as soon as possible on ending the occupation and restoring the independence of the Estonian Republic in practice. He believes that it would be advisable to conduct negotiations with the USSR on the basis of the three plus one formula, i.e. the Baltic republics and the center. True, it was later asked whether this formula would not be turned into a different one, i.e. "three plus zero," as the stand taken by President M. Gorbachev is to resolve the problems of each republic individually. The response to this by co-speaker E. Savisaar was approximately as follows:

"We must clearly show our steadfastness and strength. Then the center will make concessions. We are convinced of this."

There was not enough time on 6 August to adopt any documents. Their discussion continued the following day. Once again, three main factions were in evidence. Deputies from the People's Front supported the request of A. Ruutel not to be distracted by empty declarations and to guarantee the resolution legal purity. Members of the Estonian committee and their supporters demanded more definite, toughly-worded formulas. While deputies representing the Russian-speaking population and the labor collectives of large plants believed that the resolution would only exacerbate the situation in Estonia and its relations with the rest of the country. This point of view was expressed by P. Yermoshkin on behalf of the "Virumaa" group. He added that in these conditions the group could not take part in the vote.

V. Kuznetsov, speaking on behalf of the group "For Equal Rights," expressed himself even more sharply. He said that the group sees the resolution as a unilateral, final severance of ties with the USSR. In his statement he stressed that the republic's Supreme Soviet and government completely fail to take account of the interests of a large segment of the population. The proposals of deputies representing the Russian-speaking population are totally ignored. These deputies are not given access to interparliamentary activity.

Deputies announced the formation of an interparliamentary group for liaising with other republics and states. Its representatives will take part in drafting the Union treaty and defining the status of political refugees. The group has proposed to the interregional council, which is composed of deputies of various levels and representatives of labor collectives, that a commission be formed for talks with the governments of the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] on the fate of ethnic minorities. Documents on the observance of human rights in Estonia must be drafted and conveyed to the heads of government of the countries taking part in the Helsinki Conference and to the United Nations. Using the resources of local soviets and labor collectives, the interregional council should hold a referendum on the question of Estonian secession from the USSR. Once it had read its statement, the deputies' group "For Equal Rights" left the sessions hall.

The resolution on relations between the Estonian Republic and the USSR was adopted by 67 deputies. That is less than is required for a qualified majority. But, according to M. Lauristin, that is not compulsory in this particular case. The resolution stresses that talks with the USSR must be conducted on the basis of the Tartu Treaty between Estonia and Russia, other treaties concluded with the USSR before 15 June 1940, and recent resolutions adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet. It deems that the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 16 November 1988, which contains the proposal to conclude a Union treaty between Estonia and the USSR, is invalid. It notes that the presence of USSR Armed Forces in the republic's territory violates its sovereignty and international law. Deputies then approved the Law on the State Emblem and State Flag by a vote of 66 in favor. They will be the same state emblem and flag used until 25 August 1940.

They also adopted a resolution on the intersectoral association "Integral." The corresponding directive issued by the country's Council of Ministers on its formation and activity has been suspended.

The session is continuing its work.

Estonian Deputy Chief of Staff on Army Attitudes

PM1708154090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, by TASS correspondent V. Gondusov; place and date not given: "Realistic Approach Needed"—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] The USSR president's statement of 12 August stresses that questions regarding defense organization come exclusively under USSR authority. Therefore the Estonian Supreme Soviet statement to the effect that the presence of the Armed Forces on the republic's territory violates its sovereignty, cannot be considered lawful. On the request of TASS correspondent V. Gondusov, Colonel General G. Krivosheyev, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, comments on this position in the following statement:

[Krivosheyev] The USSR president's statement will, I hope, sober up the Estonian parliamentarians who thoughtlessly adopted a resolution that concerns many of the whole state's vital interests, including its defense capability. This must in no circumstances be weakened.

As is well known, defense functions come under the authority of the USSR and are resolved as part of a whole. From an economic viewpoint, none of the Union republics is today in a position independently to resolve the complex material, technical, cadre, and other questions facing the Armed Forces. Estonia is no exception. At present, establishments and units of virtually all forms and types of Armed Forces troops are represented in the republic, in the necessary proportions, naturally. Contrary to statements on the buildup of forces with the supposed aim of oppression and of carrying out some kind of punitive sanctions, I state with authority: The grouping of forces has not been strengthened recently.

Breaking up the existing system without taking real life into account means ruining everything. This primarily concerns the forms and types of troops that have complex arms and equipment. This is obvious in the case of the air defense forces. Is it conceivable to disrupt the existing security of the motherland's air borders today? I note that air defense serves to protect not just military but mainly economic and administrative facilities. Troop units and subunits are equipped with the latest equipment and their defense capability requirements, which are the same for the whole state, are extremely high. Disrupting this system means taking a major step backwards, and the consequences of this are difficult to predict. This also applies to other forms and types of forces.

The Estonian Supreme Soviet's position causes bewilderment not just with respect to the question of deploying troops on the republic's territory, but also as regards Armed Forces recruitment. There is obvious proof of this in the results of the spring draft. It was only 42-percent fulfilled in Estonia. Around 2,500 Estonian young men evaded their constitutional duty.

There is another equally important aspect. Statements to the effect that Estonian young men are being sent to serve far away from where they live do not correspond to reality. There are many Estonian servicemen in the Baltic Military District and neighboring districts. Although it is clear that there are many places in the country where combat readiness cannot be guaranteed merely on the principle of local recruitment.

The appeal for Estonians to serve only on the republic's territory and for national formations to be organized would put a heavy economic burden on the republic, which is not suffering from a surfeit of goods as it is.

Antiarmy feelings also cannot but cause alarm. The rousing of unhealthy passions is connected with the attempt to interrupt the normal functioning of military commissariats. The attitude toward the families of servicemen who are now deprived of elementary rights in the republic comes into the same category. There have been cases of desecration of Soviet servicemen's graves.

Statements to the effect that the military is causing irreversible damage to the republic's environment are groundless. The defense ministry does not deny that there are individual cases of damage to the environment. But at the same time we believe that they must not be seen as a system or as ill-intentioned actions on the part of servicemen. Particularly since the military collectives are paying compensation for the damage done.

Indeed, we can and should resolve problems connected with defense questions but we must do this competently on a constructive platform.

Estonian Labor Council Protests Price Hike

904D0202A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 24 Jul 90 p 1

["Statement of the Presidium of the Estonian SSR Unified Council of Labor Collectives on the Estonian Republic Government Policy of Raising Prices"]

[Text] By decision of the government of the Estonian Republic, the prices for fish products have almost doubled, while prices were raised earlier for refrigerated beverages, mineral water, juices, bakery and confectionery items, vegetables and fruit, beer, and tobacco products. No publicity is being given to price increases for industrial goods. Significant price increases have also been announced for traveling on public transport, along with price hikes for meat and dairy products.

Workers have not received monetary compensation for the price increases even though it was promised that prices would not be raised without compensation or without a national debate.

The government's social policy has considerably worsened living conditions for the workers. It is trying to justify its policy by resorting to lies and demagoguery. Here, all the republic's woes are being blamed on the Union government and the peoples of other republics. "Until there is a boundary with the eastern market we shall be unable to protect our own domestic market," government chairman E. Savisaar has stated.

But the facts indicate something else. During the first five months of this year retail trade turnover rose 270 million rubles [R], which is three times greater than last year, while industrial output in the republic failed to provide consumer goods in the amount of R8.3 million.

How has this increase come about? Partly through deliveries of goods purchased by the Soviet Union and sent to Estonia as imports.

During the first half of the year the republic received imports as follows: 1.8 times more leather footwear than last year, 5.3 times more radio items, 8.2 times more detergents. This was partially through increasing deliveries of consumer goods to Estonia from the other Union republics. During the same time the proportion of buyers from other Union republics has declined significantly, even though it was not too great previously. The government is using the myth about "guest buyers" just as it does references to open borders with the East to justify its own inability to satisfy the needs of the Estonian people.

But the increased trade turnover expressed in monetary terms has occurred mainly through systematic price increases.

The price increases are taking place not only through direct price hikes in state trade, but also through the introduction everywhere of so-called contract prices, and through state speculation in commercial stores. Extending the network of hard currency stores in which the government speculates in consumer goods obtained for hard currency and itself takes half the profit has elicited public indignation.

The presidium of the Unified Council of Labor Collectives appeals to the Estonian Republic Supreme Soviet, demanding that the 13th extraordinary session discuss the policy of systematically increasing prices by the republic government, and that it provide social safeguards for workers against the constant erosion of their living standards.

The presidium of the Unified Council of Labor Collectives appeals to all labor collectives in Estonia to protest to the republic Supreme Soviet about the government's irresponsible social policy and demand form it an accounting of how the monetary assets being derived from the price increases and hard currency trading are being spent.

In these difficult days for the republic's population we call on all honest people and all workers in Estonia to demand from the republic government guarantees of social safeguards in connection with the transition to a market economy!

Baltic Republics, Siberian Oilmen Hold Talks

LD1808224190 Moscow TASS in English 2210 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—Specialists from the Baltic republics and representatives of the Soviet Ministry of the Oil and Gas Industry have held talks on a further participation of the Baltic region in the development of the fuel complex in western Siberia (for about ten years a number of Union republics, including the Baltic ones, have been taking part in the construction of cities and villages in that region), IZVESTIYA wrote on Saturday.

In the present conditions, when centralised stocks no longer guarantee proper supply, the Baltic republics were the first to try and establish direct ties with Siberian oilmen. Builders from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia agree to further work in western Siberia in exchange for guaranteed supplies of oil and oil products.

However, the talks did not result in the signing of an overall agreement between the Baltic region and Siberia. It was replaced by three protocols on cooperation between each of the republics and the oilmen. According to IZVESTIYA, the oilmen believe that representatives of the Baltic republics sometimes asked for the excessive payment for the work of their builders. For example, Estonia demanded 900,000 tonnes of oil. If the oilmen export this oil, they can earn 100 million dollars. Prices and other factors remain to be discussed.

RSFSR

Reportage Continues on Yeltsin's Russian Tour

Views Kuzbass Living Standards

LD2008143490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has arrived in Vladivostok with one week to go before the end of his marathon tour of Russia. On Sunday, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Union's biggest republic had a meeting with the miners of Kemerovo.

[Correspondent S. Shipilev] The second half of Saturday proved to be very busy, with a rally on the square in Mezhdurechensk, a meeting with the Raspadskaya miners, an unexpected visit to a hospital in Novokuznetsk, and an endless round of meetings. Still, the most sensational episode of the trip was yesterday's meeting in Novokuznetsk with representatives of the workers' committees. At first there was no indication that anything unusual was about to happen. Choosing his words carefully, Yeltsin expressed his support for the workers' movement and repeated his assurance that the Russian government would assume the burden of responsibility for the fulfilment of decision No. 608, when suddenly, just after the visitor had stood up to leave for the airport—well, take a look yourselves without any commentary from me:

[Begin recording] [Video shows Yeltsin standing up to leave a meeting; unidentified man approaches him carrying a sheet of paper]

[Yeltsin] Thank you.

[Man] Boris Nikolayevich. The thing is that we in the Workers' Council, in expectation of our meeting, and having already discussed its results, would like to sign this joint statement with you. [end recording]

[Shipilev] Among other things, the document talks of complete independence for enterprises, the depoliticiztion of the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Army, and courts, and demands the creation of a government of people's trust. [video shows Yeltsin reading the document, striking the table, and signing the paper to applause from the hall; the unidentified man does likewise and shakes hands with Yeltsin]

Nowhere in the course of his entire trip has the chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet signed a single document, but in Novokuznetsk he did. I think we shall have an opportunity in the future to assess the significance of this agreement of intent.

[Studio Announcer] Before his departure, Boris Nikolayevich granted an interview especially for our news program.

[Begin recording] [Shipilev] What have you seen of the republic that has entrusted you to lead it?

[Yeltsin] First and foremost, I've seen the neglected social sphere. I mean, everything connected with people's lives is so backward that, of course, one is surprised and stunned, although really one knows it all from the statistics. How could one imagine that only 27 percent of capital investment is allocated for the nonproduction sphere and nonproduction construction in the Kuzbass, despite the wretched standards of housing, social, and cultural amenities? This is intolerable; 40, 45, or 50 percent, maybe. In other words, this over-concentration of industry in the areas of Bashkiria, Tataria, the Kuzbass, and the Urals has left people in conditions in which they can no longer live today—neither physically, psychologically, nor morally. They cannot go on. And this distortion is now so severe that unless rapid measures are undertaken they will be taken by the people themselves. In other words, the situation will simply explode and that would be, well, I don't know. If they can last out two years, then they might give us a period of two or three years' grace, though no more, of course. [end recording]

Discusses Free Enterprise Zone

LD2008160290 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] Speaking in the Soviet Far Eastern port of Nahodkha, the president of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, has said that the number-one task is to set up a free enterprise zone in the maritime region in the Soviet Far East. The president has been touring the republic.

According to an INTERFAX report, Yeltsin said that Russia would no longer give disinterested aid to other states. Seventy billion rubles now go out of the republic which, in his words, is a robbery. Yeltsin spoke out against the central government's program, according to which, in transition to a market, it is necessary to raise prices. He stressed that Russia has a program of its own aimed, above all, at raising living standards.

Examines Far East Independence

LD2008210190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The visit around the republic by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, is continuing. This time he was met on the coast. The profession of fishermen is, perhaps, one of the least socially protected in the Far East.

[L. Savitskiy] The profession of fishermen is not only the most widespread, but perhaps the least socially protected in the Far East. The chairman of the Russian parliament was able to see that for himself when he visited the freezer-trawler Lotos in Nakhodka. [video shows long shot of crowded dockside and of Yeltsin aboard the vessel. It switches to shots of Yeltsin seated at a table talking with crew. It then moves to long shots of the harbor facilities, showing cranes and sidings. Yeltsin is shown next in short sleeves surrounded by the press and officials and then indoors seated at a table and addressing a crowded hall. Yeltsin is then seen addressing a packed outdoor rally, and finally shots of the port facilities are shown]

It is 22 years old, an old age for a vessel and trawlers like this on which people have to work and live on the ocean for six months are in the majority here. Local fishermen do not have the right to join the fleet themselves. The Union ministry deals with this. The eastern port is one of the most highly equipped harbors in our country. The question of independence was also discussed. Inhabitants of the kray link their hopes for a better future with it and also in connection with the declaration of its territory as a free economic zone.

[Yeltsin] The technology is well thought-out, the thoughts for the future are good, and whole projects are already prepared, and the plans of these projects. Well, on the whole, I have understood that you must be given further independence and you will be free to do everything with your own hands. [applause] That is, well, you need to be given that degree of freedom as far as possible, and we will then learn from that experience. It is possible that we will transfer it to other regions, too. Therefore, how all of you tackle that, how energetically you implement, well, the freedom which is given to you, so to speak, will be very important for us when we make decisions on other regions. Therefore, do not let us down, please.

[Savitskiy] At a city rally, there was talk again of the need for making broader use of the advantageous geographical position of Nakhodka for expanding mutually beneficial contacts with the countries of the Asian and Pacific Ocean region.

[Announcer] In addition to the reportage, I want to say that at that same rally, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin told the inhabitants of the city of the problems the parliament and the government of the Russian Federation are resolving and asked for two to three years credit of confidence.

Peace Treaty With Japan Possible

LD2008222590 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The Russian Federation's President, Boris Yeltsin, touring this major Soviet republic, has asked a credit of trust for two or three years. He addressed a rally in the major Soviet Far Eastern port of Nahodkha. [passage omitted]

On relations with neighboring Japan, he pointed out that during his many-day trip the possibility of signing a peace treaty between the Russian Federation and Japan had been examined.

Visits Vladivostok Factory

LD2108090390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [Neych] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Russian parliament head, continues his working tour of the republic's far east. He is in Vladivostok now. My colleague Sergey Omelchenko reports:

[Omelchenko] Good day! The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chairman is now here at the Dalzavod, ship repair factory and probably Vladivostok's largest industrial enterprise. Boris Nikolayevich is touring the sections and talking with the workers, talking directly with whomever comes up. People are coming in crowds and asking questions. After this direct contact, at the end of his visit to the Dalzavod, there will be a big conversation. In the evening there will be a press conference and people's deputies and representatives of public organizations will assemble in the kray soviet building for a conversation with the Russian parliament head.

On the way to the Dalzavod, Yeltsin paid an unscheduled call, as has been usual during this working tour, to two Vladivostok food shops. [passage omitted]

I will also say that there were two very important meetings this morning, interesting meetings with scientists from USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Department and with forestry industry specialists. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin raised a great many problems. He elucidated and elaborated on his stances on the development of the forestry complex, the preservation of the unique nature of the Far East, and the effective use and development of the natural resources of the Far East. What is important here is that they are being expended very inefficiently. In the south of the Maritime Kray, although it is green, such valuable varieties as cedar and pine trees have been removed completely. There are deciduous types there now. It was noted that valuable varieties of trees must nevertheless be renewed when they are felled. [passage omitted]

Late this evening the Russian parliament head will fly from Vladivostok to Sakhalin, and from there to Yuzhno-Kurilsk. He will acquaint himself with the ore mining areas of those islands and discuss the problem of the southern Kuril islands.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's tour of Russia is continuing.

Russian Federation Prepared To Join OPEC

AU2008161290 Paris AFP in English 1539 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug 20 (AFP)—The Russian Federation is prepared to join the Organization of Petroleum

Exporting Countries (OPEC), Russian Foreign Economic Relations Minister Viktor Taroshchenko said here Monday. He told a news conference that the federation, the biggest component of the Soviet Union, was ready to join OPEC as an observer, in an initial phase, and as a full-fledged member "some time in the future, if they accept us." The Russian Federation produces around 80 per cent of Soviet oil.

Mr. Taroshchenko said that Russia was also ready to join a "structure similar to OPEC in which representatives of sovereign states would constitute a committee to coordinate quotas" for exports of raw materials.

However, "as a sovereign state," the Russian Federation refuses to be a member of a Soviet committee on quotas and licenses that would divide up quotas for raw materials exports among Soviet republics, he said.

Russian authorities announced recently that they planed to regulate, themselves, all exports of strategic raw materials produced in the republic.

The minister also said the federation would pursue an "open-door policy" vis-a-vis foreign investors. "The thing in which we are most interested is direct foreign investment," he said. He added that some unspecified East European countries had made "proposals" for direct trade agreements with the Russian Federation.

Khasbulatov Urges Resignation of Soviet Government

LD2008193990 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS —Russian vice-president Ruslan Khasbulatov today urged the resignation of the Soviet Government, saying that if it continues in office, this will destablise the situation and undermine Mikhail Gorbachev's policies.

He told a news conference here that this was illustrated by attempts to torpedo the agreement between Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin on economic reform.

Khasbulatov refuted assertions that the decree of the presidium of the Russian parliament of August 9 on the protection of the economic basis of the republic's sovereignty "was unexpected for the federal government" and "confrontational".

Khasbulatov said that the decree envisages consistent fulfilment of the main decisions of the first Congress of the Russian People's Deputies, specifically, the main decision—the "Declaration of State Sovereignty and the Russian Federation."

"We are concerned over the stubborn wish of the Union government, headed by Comrade Ryzhkov, to ignore Russia's interests in its decisions," Khasbulatov said. He said that the Union government, which is extremely incompetent, has carried the country into an economic, financial, and social impasse, and shows inability and unwillingness to cooperate constructively with the Russian government and local authorities, specifically, in matters of various kinds of international economic agreements."

"Our decision is by no means directed against the course steered by the Soviet president," Khasbulatov stressed.

"We back the president's efforts to expedite the transition to a market economy, and think very highly of agreements supporting the Russian plan to change over to a market," he said.

Emphasizing the interest that all foreign economic deals concluded should be observed, Khasbulatov at the same time noted that in order to avoid "unclear and indefinite situations, the negotiations should be conducted with those authorities who are authorised for this by their people." He said that Russia is interested in attracting foreign partners and foreign capital investments, but noted that "we intend to do this independently."

Asked by the TASS correspondents, Khasbulatov confirmed that the Russian leadership does not intend to take actions aimed at the heightening of tension and confrontation. He declared in favour of talks between the Russian and Soviet Governments about the separation of powers. "The Ryzhkov government does not manifest this wish as yet."

Regarding steps taken by the Soviet leadership, which actually mean the abrogation of the Russian authorities decisions on a number of matters, Khasbulatov said that not one of the decrees of the Russian parliament's presidium runs counter to the Soviet Constitution which proclaims every Soviet Union republic a sovereign state.

"Federal agencies and the Union Government who got accustomed over decades to act as they see fit would not abandon old thinking, Khasbulatov said. "While in foreign policy area President Gorbachev actively popularises new thinking, the successes in domestic area in this respect are very modest. It is precisely the Union Government that rejects new thinking."

Russian minister of foreign economic activities, Viktor Yaroshenko, who participated in the news conference, announced the intention of the Russian government to set up bodies aimed at ensuring foreign ties of the Russian Federation. The Russian government has already secured agreement of foreign partners to grant it credits of five billion currency roubles, he said.

Regarding Russia's relations with countries of the third world, Khasbulatov said that the Russian Federation will be developing such ties. But "we are against cooperation which sprouts in the form of the Iraqi aggression, we are against the USSR supplying developing countries with heaps of arms," he said. He added that the Russian leadership is "against cooperation with dictatorial regimes, no matter how they describe themselves."

RSFSR Communist Party Draft Program Published

LD2108121490 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—Many of the practical steps of perestroika have been "inconsistent and left the socialist essence and perestroika's orientation in the shadows," the draft programme of the Russian Communist Party (RCP), founded last June, says.

The programme is published in the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper today for discussion by Communists before the second stage of the party's constituent congress, in early September.

The programme, drafted by members of several trends in the party, offers alternative variants for some of its provisions.

The programme stresses that the RCP is an "integral part of the CPSU (Soviet Communist Party) and acts in line with its policy documents and charter."

"At the same time, the Russian Communist Party believes it advisable to have a programme of action of its own, taking into account the specific characteristics of the Russian Federation," it says.

The RCP says it "supports and will continue to uphold the socialist orientation of the transition to a regulated market economy."

A supplement to this provision, proposed by the Marxist platform in the party and the organising bureau of the party's initiating congress, emphasises that "Communists should not allow the legalisation of social injustice as a result of the transition to a market economy."

The draft programme reiterates the RCP's support for the Russian Federation's development as a "sovereign rule-of-law state and an integral part of the Soviet Union."

The party calls for the republic's "real economic independence," but stresses it will not accept the "counterposing of republican laws to federal ones."

The party rejects demands for the nationalisation of its property as "unfounded and illegitimate."

Foreign Economic Relations Minister Interviewed

LD2008174390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1425 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Interview with Viktor Nikolayevich Yaroshenko, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, by correspondent Lyudmila Semina in Moscow on 20 August; the interview is transmited via telephone—recorded]

[Text] [Semina] I am now in the office of Viktor Nikolayevich Yaroshenko, minister of Russia's foreign economic relations. We will try to describe the ministry's first steps. The press conference was very interesting. It was opened by a statement made by Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, in connection with the increased attention to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet's decision on protecting the economic basis of the RSFSR's sovereignty. I will recall that the decision deemed invalid foreign economic Union-republican accords and deals involving the sale of diamonds, gold, platinum and so on, and of grain, furs, and other strategic resources and goods signed without Russia's agreement after the declaration on Russia's state sovereignty had been adopted.

Comrade Khasbulatov said that the declaration on the Russian Federation's state sovereignty is being consistently implemented and named a number of legislative acts which followed the adoption of the declaration. The Russian Foreign Economic Ministry has been set up for the first time and, therefore, my first question to Minister Viktor Nikolayevich Yaroshenko is this: What is the level of Russia's foreign economic links at present?

[Yaroshenko] I would like to stress that despite the fact that deputies have eliminated about 20 ministries they have set up an additional one—the Ministry of Foreign Economic Links. I understand that it will be at the forefront of the struggle for sovereignty. The events of the last few days have confirmed this. Indeed, you see that all the events are now unfolding around Russia's right to manage its resources at foreign markets. Speaking about our starting point, one should stress that the goods turnover of the associations in Russian subordination is insignificant, about $1 billion. For comparison, one could say that 80 percent of what is sold abroad by the Soviet Union, USSR export, is export for the USSR [as heard]. Meanwhile, Russia has been granted a negligible right to sell for not more than $1 billion.

[Semina] Viktor Nikolayevich, how is Russia going to defend its interests?

[Yaroshenko] A number of legislative acts have been adopted now, and the government is preparing measures to defend sovereignty. They include the creation of the RSFSR Main Customs directorate which will make it possible for us, first, to halt illegal deals carried out contrary to governmental decision, such as the above-mentioned ones on diamonds and gold. On the other hand, as we are now taking upon ourselves the issuing of licences, that is, export permissions, and the setting of quotas, that is, export volumes—our Ministry will deal with this—the customs-service will have to ensure the clearance of all these goods. These are two cardinal steps: we are taking upon ourselves licences and quotas and creating a Russian customs service.

Bocharov on RSFSR Economic Council's Tasks

904A0549A LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 33 15 Aug 90 p 9

[Interview with Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bocharov, USSR and RSFSR people's deputy and chairman of the

Supreme Economic Council of Russia, by Irina Rishina, editor of the literary and journalistic department: "500 Days of Hope and Risk"]

[Text] Having declared, "We have a chance to give greater dynamism to the process of the renewal of Russia, and we do not have the right to let this historical opportunity slip by," B. Yeltsin is clearly striving persistently, stubbornly, purposefully—all these words are appropriate—to form both legislative and executive power from people who are not only competent but also capable of attacking the administrative-command system head-on. With its extensive experience, the system is so refined and chameleon-like that it seems only some kind of unparalleled forces will be able to overcome it. Nevertheless, the hopes of doing this increase with every new addition to the Yeltsin team.

As we know, at the First RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies it was decided to establish the Supreme Economic Council [SEC] of Russia; so the Supreme Soviet Presidium, at a motion by B. Yeltsin, approved M. Bocharov as chairman of the SEC—everyone voted in favor of him. Right after the session, I asked the chairman of the Committee on Economic Reform and Ownership, deputy editor-in-chief of VOPROSY EKONOMIKI S. Krasavchenko: What are the functions of the council?

"The SEC is a coordinator, consultant, elaborator, expert..."

"Why is Bocharov the head?"

"I think that the choice made by the presidium is optimum. Bocharov has shown himself to be an innovator in economics and an active politician with initiative. Not being a scientist in the narrow sense of the word, he is very perceptive to everything that is new both in science and in practice, is not afraid to experiment, and is willing to implement the boldest ideas. What is also important is the fact that, you will remember, being one of the contenders for the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers, he outlined a program which has been adopted to a considerable extent by the present prime minister."

Of course, I remember both the program and the debates surrounding it: for example, the speech "against" V. Sevastyanov—the day after the elections I by chance became a witness to the continuation of his argument with Bocharov. And I cannot agree with how some people explain the reason for him not being elected: the answers to questions let them down. In my opinion, the people who believe the following are closer to the truth: "We voted not against Bocharov. We voted against the arguments as a system of changing the notions about the world." The position "let them down" and did not suit them. G. Filshin talked specifically about this—about the position—in supporting Bocharov's candidacy on behalf of the members of the MDG [Interregional Deputy Group]: "His fundamental, profound speeches at the Supreme Soviet of the Union created a definite opinion, a definite attitude towards him."

I recall one thing. The agenda of the day was being discussed sedately, as it is supposed to be done, and suddenly: "Just one question—about the structure of the USSR!.. Otherwise not a single law will work—they will ignore them. What will we do then? Bring in the troops?.." As events later showed, he was absolutely right. Is it possible, I thought during those days in June, that the organizing and enterprising gift of this person go unclaimed, a person whose prestige is based not only upon his sharp words but also on his selfless deeds, which naturally were of special value as the first leaseholder in industry and the creator of the "Butek" concern... And here this restless Bocharov is given a state point for exerting his efforts.

[Rishina] At the First Congress of People's Deputies of Russia, you said: "...The time for gradual reforms has been missed. Now only speed, radicalness, and concreteness can lead to the planned goal..." What role will the SEC play in this?

[Bocharov] Its main task is to influence the course of reform and help the switch of the economy to a market footing. It is created under the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, thus its status is defined.

[Rishina] The most important task of the SEC, as I understand it, is to assist the head of the Russian parliament in reform initiatives?

[Bocharov] You are absolutely correct. Yeltsin's program and his course toward radical changes are clear and have been approved by the congress. Certainly the main goal of the SEC is to help the chairman and the presidium of the Supreme Soviet to implement this course. Incidentally, economic councils of this sort exist in the power structures of the United States, the FRG, and virtually all developed states. We did not have such a body. What necessitated creating it? The work experience of the Union parliament—its committees and commissions—and the government has shown that it is very difficult to eliminate the disagreements between them; sometimes this takes almost months. Say the government submits some proposal or draft law, and the Supreme Soviet rejects it or demands serious changes or additions. The decisionmaking is dragged out for a long time. Conversely, the Supreme Soviet submits a statute for consideration of the session, and the government has no clear concept concerning this. The SEC will help bring together the legislative bodies and executive authority of all levels. And it will not only coordinate them, but with the help of specialists will also fix certain junction points.

For us, the main thing is to develop strategy and tactics of introducing market methods into the economy in order to make as few mistakes as possible. The mechanism for rapid introduction should be thought out from all sides; otherwise, it will turn out like it did with the Law on Leasing, which they racked their brains over in the USSR Supreme Soviet and finally passed, but it does not work. A mechanism is required to put it into action. Furthermore, we should provide not only the opportunity to switch to leasing, but also sanctions against those who suppress this opportunity. We will not further economic reform unless mechanisms for implementation have not appeared simultaneously by the time the laws are passed. There can be no gap; this factor—strict deadlines—is of extraordinary importance today.

I can cite another example, too. The Union parliament has passed the Law on Taxation. The deputies demanded a rate of 35 percent, for they cannot suppress the economic interest of the enterprise and cannot kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. The government established a rate of 55 percent. They agreed to a rate of 45 percent.

[Rishina] What could the SEC have done?

[Bocharov] It could have compiled documentation which would have convinced them that it was not advisable to pass the law in such a variant at all. We cannot generalize this way today. There are priority directions; there is differentiation of tax systems according to types of activities; there is the serious problem of the existence of low-profit and unprofitable enterprises; in addition, there is no price formation system—that is what I am saying. And the job of the SEC, if it existed at the Union level as an intermediary between the executive and legislative power, in my opinion, would be to prevent mistakes—passage of such a law; after all, it will lead to serious dissatisfaction.

Of course, when I talk about coordinating the activities of bodies of power at all levels, I have in mind local bodies, too. The SEC has already taken the first step in this direction. RSFSR People's Deputy V. Ispravnikov and I just returned from Kemerovo, where industrialists, economists, and the leadership of the oblast considered it necessary to create a local economic council. Its direct link to the SEC will enable it, without wasting time—for which, I repeat, we are especially fighting—to resolve critical problems efficiently. I am confident that local economic councils will emerge in other regions, too.

[Rishina] The SEC is emerging in a red-hot atmosphere of the strike movement. The Kuznetsk Coal Fields are a hot spot in Russian. They began perestroyka for the sake of the people, but the people are worn out, harassed, and depressed. But they will no longer remain silent, as we can see, and the time is ripe for public protests. In a journalistic appeal "Live not by the Lie!" (1974), A. Solzhenitsyn wrote: "In the West, people know strikes, demonstrations, and protests—but we are too downtrodden, this is strange to us: How can they suddenly refuse to work; how can they suddenly take to the street?.. We are not destined for this, we have not matured to go on the square and speak the truth in public..." Now, thank God, they are speaking the truth in public, but to what will the strikes lead? It is becoming very alarming.

[Bocharov] For the first time we had a strike which did not demand: Increase wages! Give us food products! It was political in nature. The slogans of the workers indicate that halfway, evasive economic measures do not suit anyone; patience is coming to an end. In Kemerovo we had a meeting with worker committees and the leaders of the soviets of the oblast and Novokuznetsk. Together we worked out constructive solutions, and the SEC right then and there prepared a draft for consideration in the parliament and government. It concerns changes in the management structure: it is necessary to afford the miners a real opportunity to get out from under the diktat of the departments and to decide their own fate for themselves, and above all, to dispose of at least part of the product—that coal which the miners work so hard to get. Let them determine for themselves: create a joint stock company or redeem the enterprise. Now no one is interested in discussions or arguments: a socialist or a nonsocialist enterprise, a socialist or a nonsocialist market; we must energetically switch to deeds, without dawdling. The Kuznetsk miners raised a whole series of issues before the SEC, above all this is the problem of construction personnel, which is causing disruptions in the modernization of enterprises and the building of houses, hospitals, kindergartens... We prepared a draft resolution which grants the builders the opportunity to work on a contract basis. Now they can regulate payment according to the completion deadline, raise rates, and so forth. The trip brought to light very serious problems in the mining kray, and the SEC plans to continue to help resolve them in the future, too.

[Rishina] Has the composition of the SEC already been determined?

[Bocharov] It is being formed. Of course, it will bring together authorities: prominent scientists-economists, organizers of production, industrialists, landowners, people's deputies, lawyers, sociologists, psychologists...

[Rishina] Listening to you, I remember how, in telling about yourself—you completed an industrial tekhnikum, higher engineering course, and studied at the technical VUZes of Serpukhov and Norilsk—you emphasized: "But I value the legal education most of all, behind me is the legal faculty of the Krasnoyarsk University; I am sure that it is impossible today to manage in any field of activity without any humanitarian knowledge; without a general culture there is no strong professional either in production or, all the more so, in politics." So the presence of humanitarians in the SEC does not surprise me. But you did not mention entrepreneurs. It would be strange if the SEC did not utilize the experience of business people, be they Sv. Fedorov or A. Tarasov.

[Bocharov] Fedorov agreed to become a member of the SEC, and Tarasov will also be constantly involved in its work. When I named organizers of production as being among the members of the council, I also had them in mind and other, as you correctly said, business people, enterprising people with innovative ideas and bold approaches. In addition, the SEC is now selecting consultants—experts for all directions. They will participate in individual temporary actions. If we need to analyze the fire situation—a group of specialists will be involved. Another group may conduct, for example, expert examination of specific aspects associated with delimitation of powers between the USSR and the RSFSR. Yet another group will be involved, say, in evaluating international programs that emerge; you see, foreign economic activities now comes under the jurisdiction of Russia. Mutual relations with foreign states for granting and using credit resources as well as economic contacts with our republics—this also comes under the council's jurisdiction.

As I already said, the SEC is a coordinating, consultative-elaborating, and expert body. After examining and studying various concepts and sometimes popular views on some process, it can identify and pick out what is most valuable and the best variant, thoroughly studied, and submit it to the government as a recommendatory proposal. I believe that the council, without duplicating anyone, will cooperate closely with both the economic structures of parliament and with the economic department of government, because they all have the same goal: as soon as possible make people feel that their life is really changing for the better.

Of course, labor collectives should acquire complete economic independence, like each of the 300 enterprises that are members of our "Butek" concern.

[Rishina] Already that many? In January, when the USSR Council of Ministers decree on it came out and I interviewed you, there were 25 of them, and that seemed to be a lot.

[Bocharov] There is great interest in "Butek" throughout the country. I look at the emergence of the concern as a precedent for creating a new economic mechanism, some miniature market economy, which is causing so much concern in minds today. Privatization of ownership; free functioning of medium-sized and small enterprises—without them a market economy is inconceivable, and in their sum total they form the market environment and a normal, competitive situation; setting up a new tax system—both for enterprises and individuals; creation of commercial banks; going away from the monopoly of the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity; redemption of enterprises; and so forth. ...We relied on the initial earnings of "Butek" in compiling the program "500 Days," and far from everything here is going smoothly, and this is natural because our concern is an experimental field where we are searching for the optimum practical measures.

[Rishina] Although B.N. Yeltsin has talked about this program and it was "heard" at the session of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, nevertheless please tell us again about its four phases. After all, today it is of interest not just to Russia alone but also to the entire Union.

[Bocharov] You see, it actually was conceived not just for Russia.

Here is an outline of its phases:

The first phase is 100 days. The preparatory phase. Announcement of the program. Propaganda. A number of symbolic measures. An audit of national wealth and the defense industry. Organization and legislative preparation of the next phase of reform. Development of a system of social guarantees. Beginning of implementation of divesting of state ownership. Notification about the cancellation of state grants and subsidies. The criterion for transition to the next phase is the conclusion of methodological, organizational, and legislative preparation of reform.

The second phase is from day 100 to day 250. Privatization. Cancellation of state grants and subsidies. Conversion to forced leasing. Elimination and strengthening of sectorial ministries. Banking, tax, and budget reforms. Introduction of antimonopoly legislation. Legislating and organizational support of the next phase. The criterion for transition to the next phase: receipt by the state of 200 billion rubles as a result of measures for privatization and so forth.

The third phase is from day 250 to day 400. Starting the market mechanism. Removal, for the most part, of state control of prices. Introduction of a system of social guarantees (rationing, indexation, goal-oriented assistance programs, and others). Permitting a deep recession in the base sectors of the economy, regulation of unemployment, regulation of inflation—with the goal of an abrupt structural reorganization of the economy. The criterion for transition to the next phase: day 400, regardless of the economic situation for achieving visible positive results by the end of the program. Achieving a slowdown point in the recession in the base sectors of the economy.

The fourth phase is day 400 to day 500. Stabilization. An abrupt start of selective government programs: centralized capital investments to eliminate disproportions; use of accumulated reserves and import resources to regulate (lower) the levels of consumer prices; adjustment of social programs; and others.

[Rishina] Such an approach, of course, has allies. For example, I read that Harvard Professor of Economics Jeffrey Sachs recommended "setting a very precise and energetic timetable, clearly showing what will be done when in the next several years." But you know, Mikhail Aleksandrovich, the good-looking number "500" can also raise a question: Doesn't this smell of Manilovism [smug complacency]? In essence, nothing has been done, and it is already being announced that the economy can be "cured" in a certain amount of time. Why such a precise number of calendar days?

[Bocharov] Well, there are, of course, grounds for distrust. How many times have the people been promised something that cannot be done.... Still, "don't count your chickens before they're hatched," although we intended to do this after each phase. After 100 days have passed, we will report to the people: what has been fulfilled, what has not turned out, what has interfered.... After 250 days, there will be another report, an analysis, and we will call a spade a spade. The people must know: we are doing this today, and we will do this tomorrow, that is, we will be putting the program under the control of society. A team of specialists toiled on the program—young, extraordinarily thinking scientists and practical workers. They took as the basis the "400 Days" program which G. Yavlinskiy and his assistants prepared. During those days he was working in the USSR Council of Ministers on L. Abalkin's commission. Now, you know, he is deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Commission for Economic Reform. We then added to the program substantially, made corrections, and changed the time periods. It was transformed into 500 days—approximately the amount of time, in our view, needed for the transition to a normal, that is, market system with a high degree of social protection for all sections of the population.

[Rishina] It turns out that if you had not presented the program at the congress, they might not have known about it and it would not have had such wide publicity?

[Bocharov] I have no idea why they did not use Yavlinskiy's work and develop it in the Abalkin commission. I am very pleased that the "500 Days" program has received such a response and that it was taken as the basis for a Union concept of a transition to a market model. Now a group of experts will study it in detail and give its recommendations. Of course, it may be 530 days instead of 500, but that is not the point. I believe there is simply no other way; we are obliged to clearly define the time periods and priorities and assume personal responsibility for execution. I would not want to be criticized by millions of people if I did not keep my word. Namely this moral aspect, and a very important one, required of me as a person such an approach, and just such an approach. I was willing to risk my head, my name, and virtually everything that I have done in my lifetime. There is good reason that the program has been named the "Mandate of Trust for 500 Days."

In presenting this program to the Supreme Soviet of Russia, I said that it requires some finishing touches, but this is already the prerogative of the present Council of Ministers. Naturally, it also has responsibility for execution.

[Rishina] Mikhail Aleksandrovich, don't you, as a practical worker, know that the most perfect models collapse under the onslaught of real circumstances? It is assumed in the program that in the first 100 days an inventory will be made of state property, legalization of private ownership will begin, and so forth. And the old, still strong cadres of the system, the mafia forces—do you think they will not sabotage this and will give up their positions without a fight?

[Bocharov] Indeed, difficulties will arise, and the SEC must eliminate them, primarily by setting up that very joining of executive and legislative power which I mentioned earlier. Many difficulties await us. We must overcome stereotype in thinking, but this is also provided for in the program. We must calculate everything and determine in advance a precise mechanism for overcoming various unexpected developments. Much will depend on the resolutions of the new parliament and the new government. Russia has tremendous resources; they make it possible to keep within 500 days. We have natural resources—gold, diamonds, timber, oil, gas, ore, land—and we have intellectual potential, and more....

[Rishina] While you were talking on the phone, I picked up from your desk the book by Yu. Karyakin "Dostoyevskiy on the Eve of the 21st Century" (Incidentally, do you still have time to read books, much less these kind?...), and on the first page are Dostoyevskiy's words: "...Here is a thought that interests me most: Where is our commonality, where are those points on which we could all, of various directions, agree?"—the classics, they will always express themselves at the right time.

[Bocharov] Democratic forces definitely must unite. Cooperation, co-authorship—without this we, naturally, will not advance a single step. Radical reform is needed in the economy; there is no alternative. The executive power is called upon from the first day to begin implementing it, and the Supreme Economic Council will strive for cooperation in every possible way, and I hope it will prove productive in solving many problems.

RSFSR Agro-Industrial Resolution Published

PM2108091190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution "On Partial Suspension of the Operation of the 3 August 1989 and 26 September 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet Resolutions in the Agro-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] With a view to ensuring the timely bringing in of the harvest and the maximum reduction of losses of agricultural produce, suspend in 1990 the operation of the second paragraph of Point 2 of the USSR Supreme Soviet 3 August 1989 resolution and Point 1 of the USSR Supreme Soviet 26 September 1989 resolution providing for the procedure for the regulation through taxation of the growth of funds channeled into wages for collective farms, state farms, and other state agricultural enterprises, processing enterprises, construction and servicing enterprises, and organizations of the agro-industrial complex.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

[Dated] 15 August 1990.

Kalugin Prevented From Addressing Krasnodar Rally

LD1708130790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 17 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] A sanctioned rally of many thousands of people, that is to say a meeting of voters, has taken place in Krasnodar. [video shows meeting, people trying to address crowd through malfunctioning microphones] Candidate deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet were due to have addressed the rally—in all, nine people. (Bushuyev), chairman of the kray Electoral Commission, opened the meeting.

It was decided by a majority of votes that the demoted General Kalugin would be the first to speak. It immediately became obvious that some microphones had their leads torn off and that power was switched off. Kalugin and other speakers had to use megaphones. At that time a sports plane appeared over the assembled crowd. As our correspondent reports, the plane began to perform acrobatics, with the attendant risk of falling onto the people. [video shows plane going through its paces and people shouting something in unison]

Kalugin Wins First Round in Krasnodar Elections

LD2108084890 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 21 TASS—Disgraced former KGB Major-General Oleg Kalugin, now a pensioner, won the largest number of votes in the first round of elections to the national parliament in Krasnodar province, south Russia, on Sunday.

Approximately 60 per cent of voters turned out to vote.

Kalugin now faces a runoff against Nikolay Gorovoy, formerly the chairman of a collective farm and now first deputy chairman of the regional agro-industrial committee.

The race for a vacant seat in the Congress of People's Deputies was "unusually keen, tense, sometimes going beyond the bounds of decency", PRAVDA says today.

Moscow District's Zaslavskiy Interviewed

90UN2577A Moscow VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA in Russian 30 Jul 90 p 2

[Report on interview with I.I. Zaslavskiy, chairman of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Soviet, recorded by B. Yakovlev]

[Text] [Zaslavskiy] The first session of the rayon soviet concluded at the end of June and had commenced on 9 April and been conducted in two stages with breaks. Long, yes, but what I find reassuring is that it was not the longest in our city, and we were ahead of many others.

What have we managed to get done? To organize ourselves and create new mechanisms of administration of the soviet. We are forming councils of experts; these are an entirely new body—specialists who are to help the deputies adopt well-founded decisions.

[Yakovlev] Ten weeks is quite a time. Even if Oktyabrskiy Rayon was ahead of some of its neighbors, was not an extravagant amount of time spent by today's standards?

[Zaslavskiy] Do you need specific examples of specific activity for people's benefit? Certainly!

The Culture Commission went to the rayon kindergarten located south of Moscow. Not a cheerful situation there. The question of dismissal of the director had been raised, and he was dismissed, but this alone does not change much. Sponsors, concerned sponsors, were found. They will, let us hope, improve matters.

Garbage is being dealt with.... One member of the rayon soviet presidium who himself used to work in the sphere of bringing cleanliness and order to bear proposed a reorganization of the pertinent services: the work force, the cooperatives included, is starting to compete in obtaining contracts for cleaning up grounds and for road repairs. Competition is our principle. I once promised in my program as a candidate for deputy to take it as a basis—I am now fulfilling this promise.

A tough struggle is developing around ecological problems. A decision had been made to close Industrial Rubber Plant No. 1 (this issue was dealt with by the old rayon soviet even).

When the sanitary and epidemiological station recently decreed the closure of the plant, the rayon prosecutor—such is the assistance he is rendering us—lodged a protest against the decision citing some ordinance of the USSR Council of Ministers according to which the local authorities do not have the right to close down an enterprise. I sent in a deputy's question to the city prosecutor, the chairman of the Ecology Commission sent in a written question, and we put in a call on the government line (it is a good thing we have this telephone). The rayon prosecutor's protest was withdrawn.

[Yakovlev] The command system has shown you its bright side?

[Zaslavskiy] This is a difficult question.... It is all still on paper; the closure has yet to be achieved. We are preparing for a grim struggle. Incidentally the evening paper has written about this plant. We know of attempts to incite the workers to protests. I would like them to understand why the population suffering from such proximity is up in arms. What harmful dosages are the workers themselves receiving?

A strict student of legal science might reproach the soviet for frequently undertaking business which is beyond its province, economic matters particularly. Given this state of the economy and while the market mechanism is being launched and it is necessary to assist it, we cannot disconnect ourselves from them. Ideally the soviet should be elaborating and adopting social and cultural and the most significant economic programs.

Regulatory documents are being prepared currently on the separation of the rayon's legislative and executive authority. This is difficult, but we are beginning to adapt to it.

The 33-year-old Georgiy Leonardovich Vasilyev, candidate of economic sciences, who came out the winner in a difficult, two-round competitive contest, has been elected chairman of the rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee]....

[Yakovlev] Excuse me, how old are you?

[Zaslavskiy] Thirty....

The ispolkom [executive committee], as an economic body, is together with the standing commission of deputies for the rayon's economic development engaged in the implementation of a program of the creation of small businesses and firms capable of producing consumer goods and construction materials and, naturally, producing steady revenue for the rayon budget. This will make it possible to finance social programs. A number of such businesses has already been registered by the ispolkom. There is a multitude of proposals, from foreign companies included.

A June-dated "News Bulletin of the Oktyabrskiy Raykom" [rayon party committee], distributed in an edition of 10,000 copies, contains praise for our ispolkom: "We believe that the rayispolkom, which incorporates competent and energetic people with a direct relationship with the cooperative movement, will be able to effectively solve the rayon's socioeconomic problems under the new management conditions."

The sincerity of the praise has, alas, to be doubted. I see nothing wrong in the fact that people have a "direct relationship with the cooperative movement." In the vocabulary of sluggish party apparatchiks, however, the word "cooperator" is given a particular meaning and was employed in the election struggle as an "irresistible" argument aimed at finding an echo in certain hearts. In my opinion, this abuse is going out of fashion.

As far as the facts are concerned, of the nine members of the ispolkom, only one—the chairman of a cooperative research and information center for the processing of information pertaining to the municipal economy—"has a relationship." And in order to put an end to the "problem" I would add that last year cooperative taxes—R22 million—made it possible to convert a rayon budget in deficit into a budget in surplus.

[Yakovlev] There arises in connection with all this the question: How are relations with the raykom taking shape?

[Zaslavskiy] Instead of answering, I will refer to the assertion born within the raykom: "A distinctive system of 'diarchy' has emerged in the rayon following the victory at the elections to the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Soviet of the 'Democratic Russia' bloc...." I have no desire to continue this unattractive topic; let us turn to social problems.

Meetings were held with war and labor veterans, and their proposals, specifically concerning the opening of an extra "Veteran" store and food store, were considered at a meeting of the rayon soviet presidium. It was decided to support the proposals and help the veterans. Of course, the special store is not, generally speaking, a way out of the situation: In a time of starvation a veteran lives badly also. We need to change the system in the country. Specific problems, however, have to be tackled at once.

We are helping large families. This is the affair which has caused a scandal in Moscow: Families have taken up occupancy in 11 empty apartments in a prestigious house on Dimitrov Street.

The deputies ascertained that living here in a house of the CPSU Central Committee in the name, for example, of the family of G. Aliyev, are V. Kubrin, first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy Raykom, and M. Alekseyev, former chief editor of the journal MOSKVA. And the grounds for the issuance of a number of other housing permits are highly dubious.

The large families have gone on hunger strike. We wrote a letter to the CPSU Central Committee requesting that these 11 apartments and the house which is being built next door be transferred to us. This was the answer: You can have four apartments provided the Moscow City Soviet pays compensation from its own funds. A special session of the rayon soviet decreed by roll-call vote the issuance of 11 housing permits for the large families. A somewhat controversial solution of the question, possibly....

[Yakovlev] The newborn democracy has a vital interest in ensuring that we progress toward and arrive at a state based on the rule of law—without it, it will perish. Hunger strikes, walkouts...

In our "state based on the rule of law" today a judicial process whose aim is the compulsory eviction of the 11 families is entirely likely. I, a deputy of the rayon soviet and USSR people's deputy, am making every effort to ensure that this process be turned against party bureaucrats and corruption as the mode of their existence.

I understand full well that even if this whole house is seized, social justice in the country will not increase, and there will be no improvement in the general situation. We need to change the underlying principles. This is what I work and live for. If, however, I encounter a specific outrage, I will endeavor to put a stop to it.

[Yakovlev] But hunger strikes, walkouts...

[Zaslavskiy] Not the best methods, but in our reality, justified.

The country lacks a feedback mechanism—from the people to the government. It is only just coming into being, and this is leading as yet to nonparliamentary, incorrect methods of its engagement. It is not the people who are starving who are to blame but the circumstances which leave no other way out. It is my firm rule to support the unfortunate.

[Yakovlev] Not without your active participation, the session of the rayon soviet passed a resolution on no confidence in the government of the country in connection with the program it has issued of transition to a market economy. Is this also a feedback signal?

[Zaslavskiy] If you wish, yes; the policy of transition to a pseudo-market economy was condemned. I would remind you that the increase in bread prices has not occurred and that discussion of the program has been deferred to the fall.

[Yakovlev] Reports have appeared in the papers, including VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, that constituent congresses of the Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation, the Democratic Party of Russia, and the Christian Democratic Union have been organized and that work on registration on the Posev and Protestant Gideon foundations, the Jewish Children's Association, and other political and public organizations, associations, and publications is being performed in the rayon—more precisely, in the conference hall of the building in which we are now conversing. Does this have a direct connection with the life of your electorate?

[Zaslavskiy] Undoubtedly!

A happy society cannot be built merely by, for a start, having enriched store counters in one district. Real multiparty conditions, a normal political and social life in the country, I emphasize, throughout the country, and society's capacity for self-development are the keys to the future for all of us. For decades the "red wheel" has crushed and eradicated this, and as a result we have acquired a society in which everyone is afraid of everyone else. The people must not be a herd being led by someone or other toward a "shining future". The vanguard role of one party, any party, is incompatible with the possibility of development: either, or. The vanguard and "homo sovieticus" are marching side by side.... I do not believe you will print this in your newspaper.

[Yakovlev] Although I am not the chief editor, I will endeavor to have printed everything you say. In making this promise I am probably exceeding my authority, as you did in writing out housing permits for the large families.... Do not the newborn parties depress you?

[Zaslavskiy] Sometimes they do. My small daughter, when she was a babe in arms, cried a lot and would say nothing that made sense and would depress me. But now she is already running about....

[Yakovlev] ...and growing into an attractive young woman?

[Zaslavskiy] If given the opportunity. The multiparty system allows all people, who so desire, of course, an opportunity for self-expression.

[Yakovlev] What, for all that, will real multiparty conditions, when they grow up, do for Oktyabrskiy Rayon?

[Zaslavskiy] Afford it an opportunity to abide by the electorate's wishes.

A system of parties, each of which expresses the interests of a particular group, will make it possible to organize reliable feedback from the population to its rayon soviet and provide a firm basis for our decisions. Trumpeting rights at mass meetings and demonstrations and instigating hunger strikes and walkouts are far from the best method of political existence, and one that is highly dangerous for society. I would observe in passing that the Communist Party has never been registered anywhere.

[Yakovlev] Will you register it in Oktyabrskiy Rayon if it applies?

[Zaslavskiy] We will register any party not in violation of the Constitution.

[Yakovlev] You are one of the "eldest" rayon soviet chairmen—you were elected at the start of April. Name three things you have done, if you will, of which you are proud.

[Zaslavskiy] Three? I have created a normal, efficient mechanism of the soviet's activity and have succeeded in picking people and bringing them together. Second, we are not always indulging in talk and we spent a considerable part of the time of the session on business, and I did not die the death of the brave in the struggle against "chattering democracy." And, third, I am proud of the actual work about which I have told you.

According to sociological polls, the soviet leadership enjoys the support of more than half the electorate. The political program, we have spoken about this also, is winning approval.

[Yakovlev] Everyone's approval?

[Zaslavskiy] The times of universal approval are, it would seem, gone.

[Yakovlev] Why were you so intimidated by the proposed picketing the day the final stage of the rayon soviet session was beginning?

[Zaslavskiy] You refer to the invitation to the "Aleks" detective agency for protection? We had received information, from several sources, moreover, that major breaches of public order were possible this day. People wanted to use veterans, 20 persons per neighborhood, for this purpose. Subsequently a deputies' investigation determined that the plans had been discussed at a meeting attended by V. Rodin, head of the Oktyabrskiy

Raykom Organizational Department, and Colonel General (Ret.) Yu. Votintsev, chairman of the rayon veterans organization.

We ban no demonstrations conducted within the framework of the law, but the fact that we were not warned of this one, which was manifestly in preparation, was a bad sign. The leaders of the rayon's law enforcement authorities had, according to them, no information, and, as the chief of the rayon Internal Affairs Administration subsequently declared, current information summaries go to the desk not of the leaders of the soviet, but of the first secretary of the raykom.

Under these circumstances we no had choice but to resort to "Aleks." I am convinced that the measures we adopted forestalled and forced the cancellation not simply of an innocuous picket, but a more dangerous development of events for, according to our information, not only veterans but also younger folk had been enlisted in this odd escapade.

The Oktyabrskiy Rayon Soviet is sometimes called "Zaslavskiy's house," and there is so much misrepresentation here that clear day becomes darkest night....

[Yakovlev] How do you forecast future relations with the raykom?

[Zaslavskiy] Such as a party, any party, may have with the legitimate state authorities. The party is obliged to recognize the authorities. Otherwise the question of the party's conformity to the law should be considered.

Returning to the "picketing" which did not happen, it has to be said that a fundamental evaluation of the actions of its organizers on the part of the raykom and the Council of Veterans is necessary unless they want to assume full responsibility. Investigation by the procuracy is essential. The commission of deputies is prepared to present all the available material.

We should not forget what happened in the Central House of Litterateurs at the "April" party.

Reportage on Tatar ASSR Sovereignty Moves

Region Reviewed

PM2108112190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 90 p 1

[Report by correspondent B. Vishnevskiy under the rubric "Tataria: Events of the Week": "Sovereignty. But What Kind?"]

[Text] Kazan—Interest in the changes taking place in Tataria's political life is aroused not only by the fact that far more Tatars live outside its borders than within the Tatar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] itself. Even more important is the fact that this republic is traditionally among the top ten Russian oblasts and autonomous formations.

So I was not at all surprised when I received a telephone call from a Moscow colleague. He said it was rumored that the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet had adopted a declaration of sovereignty.

It is certainly true that nowadays rumors are always one step ahead of events. Especially when there are reasons for these rumors. In this case the reasons are as follows. The question that interests us is item number one on the agenda of the next session of the Tatar Supreme Soviet. It also features in a resolution adopted by a large rally organized by the Tatar Social Center. The draft declaration of sovereignty has been published in the local newspapers. And television, with its more than modest allotment of time, did not even begrudge an hour-long live broadcast: It relayed a topical press conference given by M.G. Sabirov, chairman of the Tatar ASSR Council of Ministers and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputy.

Here are some characteristic details from the discussion. The republic's annual exports exceed its total imports by just over R2 billion. At the same time, its requirements for strategic items, such as metal, cement, timber, coal, cotton, and others, are met almost totally by deliveries.

A press conference given on the eve of the Supreme Soviet session, when the parliamentary commissions' work was at its height, could not provide exhaustive answers, of course. But it was also unable to demonstrate something else. Namely, that a dialogue is developing between the government and the public. And although we journalists were not left much time on the live broadcast, we did ask a number of questions nevertheless.

"In what form has the question of sovereignty been discussed at Union and republic level?"

"An official proposal has been submitted on behalf of the Tatar Supreme Soviet to Comrade Lukyanov and a similar one to Comrade Yeltsin on discussing these matters at the session."

"It is a matter of sovereignty within the framework of Russia and the USSR? Or perhaps, as some propose, this sovereignty will be similar to that of the Vatican?"

"I expect there are a lot of different opinions on this. But mine is that this sovereignty will be within the framework of Russia and the USSR. No other kind would be of any benefit to us."

"We will work through negotiation and not by using pressure and threats, giving our unconditional consent to the autonomous formation's sovereignty. Let the republic decide for itself within what limits it can really implement its independence..." Boris Yeltsin confirmed these words during a visit to the Tatar ASSR.

During his visit to the city of Kamskiye Polyany, Boris Yeltsin left his minibus and got into a helicopter. It flew several times over the construction site of the Tatar Nuclear Power Station. This station is another sore point in Tataria. Indeed, how is the future of the project—in the construction of which R570 million have already been invested and which is the focus of so many hopes and fears—to be decided? But it seems that the president's visit has helped to dispel the cloud of uncertainty. Following a series of consultations, it has been decided to concentrate on studying three options. They are: to terminate construction altogether; to redesignate the construction project; or, finally, to mothball it for a long period.

Sovereignty Drive Described

90UN2627A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 33, 15 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by S. Besschetnova: "An Apartment for Tataria: Alternatives Are Possible"]

[Text] "We did not join Russia!" "Democracy means primarily decolonization," "Where are our petrodollars?"—these and other slogans in Russian and Tatar have decorated mass meetings in Kazan which have increased in frequency of late. The idea of the Tatar Social Center (TSC) and the "ITTIFAK" National Independence Party (it is they that are the organizers of the meetings) is supported by considerable numbers of the townspeople. Under pressure from the former the Tataria Supreme Soviet Second Session has been postponed until the end of August. The main question to be considered by the deputies is definition of the republic's new status and the adoption of a declaration on sovereignty.

"The concept of 'sovereignty' is absent from the Tatar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution, and for all these years practically the republic has been in the position of a province which has given much more than it has received. But world practice shows that countries with similar oil reserves have been able to create a decent living standard both for the people who produce this wealth and for the region as a whole," R.R. Idiatullin, secretary of the oblast party committee, says. "So the idea of transformation of the republic's status did not arise yesterday, and this issue came to be actively debated as of 1988. There has been a certain evolution in the position of the party organization also. A recent plenum of the Tatar Oblast Party Committee passed a resolution on support for the idea of sovereignty.

So the party spotted the idea and, coming down from its pedestal, has given it its blessing. B.N. Yeltsin also declined to give advice: It is your republic, you decide which rights to take, which to delegate to the Union and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. There will be no pressure on the part of the Russian parliament. The end of the empire needs to begin with an end to imperial thinking.

"And you are prepared to grant Tataria a separate apartment?"

"Yes."

"Are you not afraid that in this case Russia will slip through your fingers, as the Union is slipping through Gorbachev's?"

"Had Gorbachev given the Union republics the independence for which they were asking three years ago, there would be no national rows."

Perhaps. But practice shows that a nation's struggle for its sovereignty is not a purely domestic clarification of relations between it and Moscow. On 27 August the Tatar ASSR Supreme Soviet has to find the resultant of the various political forces of the republic and formulate a decision that will reconcile and satisfy all inhabitants of Tataria. Is this possible? The majority of the Russian-speaking population together with the representatives of a number of public movements is convinced that if the republic takes the path of secession from a Russia in which Yeltsin's reforms are coming, it will quickly come to grief under the leadership of the Tataria Supreme Soviet, not as yet conspicuous for particular democratic predilections.

The leaders of the TSC, however, believe that when it is a question of the people's fate, political conditions are secondary, and, then, not all will depend on Yeltsin. It is therefore necessary to struggle for Tataria's secession from the RSFSR.

All this is so, but, as is known, the practice of the USSR lacks, unfortunately, a matrix of a solution of national problems without their becoming interethnic conflicts. The danger here is that the growth of the political status of one nation could be at the expense of another—would this not be grounds for a new "historical" grievance?

Russians on the territory of Tataria have also been resident here for just under a thousand years. According to figures for 1989, Tatars constitute 47.6 percent, Russians, 44 percent, of the republic's total population. Specific grounds for the emergence of a separatist complex among the "new minority" are lacking as yet, thank God.

"The mere fact of sovereignty should unite people. I do not believe that our decision will have a negative impact on the fate of Russia," M.Sh. Shaymiyev, chairman of the Tataria Supreme Soviet, commented on the situation. "It is a question of a new state arrangement in our country without the ranking of the republics into Union and autonomous. The top level is not yet ready for this, but the Presidential Council and the Council of the Federation should study these matters."

"It is better to renounce patriotism than one's conscience." It seems to me that this thought of the Russian philosopher V. Solovyev best defines the initial position for the composition of the new federation—in accordance with the Sakharov or some other democratic model. The crisis of the empire today is at the level of the autonomous republics. The crisis of Russia is at the level of the heart. But it is at this level that the energy of transformations begins.

Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet Session Ends

LD1808230490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 18 August carries a five-minute report by correspondent Tamara (Aliyeva) on the conclusion of the Chechen-Ingush Supreme Soviet session on 18 August.

Aliyeva says that general attention was drawn to two questions on the session's agenda: the draft declaration of state sovereignty of Chechen-Ingush, and the mechanisms of people's power in the republic.

She describes how the declaration was not discussed seriously, but it is to be published for discussion by the people and submitted again in two months. An alternative draft was not discussed either. She says it seems that the Supreme Soviet is dragging out the adoption of the document because it is not sure that the deputies will pass the draft submitted by the government. She noted two opinions among the deputies: one is to declare a Union republic, and the other a Chechen-Ingush Soviet Socialist Republic, without the word autonomous.

Aliyeva then goes on to deal with the question of people's power, saying that the session asserted the right to combine two posts, those of chairman of the Supreme Soviet and of first secretary of the Chechen-Ingush Oblast party committee. She says: "Doku Gapurovich Zavgayev, who combines these two posts, requested that he be supported, and said that this is a temporary measure. He was supported—although the day before, during discussion in the committee on legislation this proposal was turned down as going counter to the decision of the First Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation."

Aliyeva continues that deputies at the session who had a different point of view were not able to speak on this question at all, and some of the deputies simply walked out of the session. She says the deputies assert that the "vote count was dubious and approximate" after that.

Aliyeva says that in general the deputies worked without having confirmed the procedure, in haste. The session took place behind closed doors, guarded by a whole battalion of militia, she says, Journalists' access was limited. The republic newspaper has not given a detailed account of the work of the session, and the television and radio "have not yet given a single reportage on the session's work."

She says that the people have been protesting with rallies, demanding glasnost and radical changes. She describes the Supreme Soviet as being conservative, and explains this by the fact that most of the deputies come from the oblast and rayon party committees, or are directors and managers of large enterprises and farms who were recently members of the party apparatus. She says that members of the party apparatus who were cut simply moved into the Supreme Soviet, and are now putting strong pressure on the deputies who have become nervous and are either making decisions without thinking them through or keeping quiet and simply voting as they are told.

Kaliningrad Abolishes Rayon CPSU Committees

LD1908120190 Kaliningrad Domestic Service in Russian 2200 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] A joint plenum of Kalingrad's city and rayon CPSU committees decided by a majority vote to abolish (?all five) of the oblast center's rayon CPSU committees. Practically all the CPSU members agree that it is necessary to simplify the organizational structure of the party apparatus. After the 28th CPSU Congress this has become more evident. But which levels should be abolished - city or rayon committees? Each of these two solutions had its advocates and opponents. Some said that rayon committees are closer to rank-and-file communists and are capable of more efficient work with CPSU members at their places of residence. Others objected that the tutelage of primary organizations by rayon committees gives rise to a lack of initiative and laziness in thinking and acting. While consolidating and directing the efforts of the local Communists, the city CPSU committee will give primary organizations independence and encourage their initiative.

There were heated discussions at the joint plenum. The advocates of the extended city CPSU committee concept triumphed.

Tomsk City Party Committee To Be Abolished

LD2108075890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] A decision has been made to abolish the Tomsk city party committee, while keeping four CPSU rayon committees, corresponding to the number of rayons in the city. The situation in the city party organization has recently become tense, a TASS correspondent reports. More than 1,300 people left the Communist Party's ranks in the first seven months of this year, and several thousand have stopped paying their membership subscriptions. It has therefore been decided to cut the party apparatus by 40 percent.

Ivanovo Obkom Elects New First Secretary

PM2008131590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Party Oblast Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Ivanovo, 15 Aug—An Ivanovo Obkom [oblast party committee] plenum was held here today to examine an organizational matter.

Taking into account the opinion of primary party organizations, V.G. Stupin, former first secretary of Vichuga City CPSU Committee, was elected party obkom first secretary on a multiple choice basis.

New Krasnoyarsk Kray First Secretary Elected

LD1708182890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Comrade Kazmin has been elected first secretary of the kray CPSU committee from a field of more than one candidate at an extraordinary kray party conference in Krasnoyarsk. He worked previously as first secretary of the Khakass Oblast Party Committee.

Altay Kray Vote-Rigging Under Investigation

PM2008153190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[IZVESTIYA correspondent Margarita Kurgalina report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Election Law Violated"]

[Text] Barnaul—The Altay Kray Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings following a breach of the Election Law during the voting for a people's deputy to the Pospelikhinskiy Rayon Soviet.

There were two candidates for the seat: Surgeon N. Shevchenko and CPSU Raykom [rayon party committee] First Secretary L. Marachev, whom voters had previously "slated" in elections to rayon and kray soviets in other districts. This time there was a majority "in favor" after the vote-counting.

However, there were vigilant social aktiv members who detected breaches of the law. There were considerably more ballot papers in the ballot boxes than the number of voters who turned out. They told the rayon prosecutor office's about this, and then submitted explanations to the electoral commission, which deemed the elections invalid (four people voted in favor of this, three against, with one abstention).

The Rubtsovsk City Prosecutor's Office—Pospelikha's neighbor—has been tasked with checking out the facts, as being neutral. So now we have a criminal investigation.

This rigging of votes in favor of a leader who is clearly unpopular with the people exhausted the patience of local law-enforcement personnel, who have suffered a great deal for a long time owing to the "telephone law" that prevailed in the rayon. Some 22 of them have applied to leave the CPSU and, at the last moment, after some wavering, they were joined by another—Rayon Prosecutor T. Zolotukhin. He incidentally beat Marachev in the election to the kray soviet of people's deputies.

Maritime Kray Free Economic Zone Plan Viewed

PM1908195190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Report by Leonid Savitskiy; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In conditions of the devolution of power which is taking shape in the country, Maritime Kray is largely linking its progress toward a market economy and full-blooded civilized life with the establishment of a free economic zone on its territory. And although a resolution to this effect has been adopted by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, a whole series of questions must be resolved to ensure its implementation. Leonid Savitskiy reports from Vladivostok:

[Reporter] The role assigned to the free economic zone is that of the first stage of a booster rocket which is to place the Maritime Kray economy in the high orbits of international business.

All the right preconditions exist in the kray for the creation of such a zone. They include a favorable geographical location, the presence of the Vladivostok and Nakhodka ports, a network of transport routes which considerably shorten the way from the countries of Asia and the Pacific region to China, Korea, and Mongolia, natural resources which are not processed locally, and finally the Ussuriyskaya Tayga and picturesque bays, which make it possible to create a modern tourist industry here. Foreign businessmen are showing heightened interest in all this. Some 400 business delegations have visited the kray in the last year alone. Japanese, Chinese, and Australian trade and industrial exhibitions have been held. A number of joint ventures have been set up in Maritime Kray.

However despite local initiative, the solution of many questions pertaining to the status of the economic zone in the Kray is making little progress higher up, at government level.

[I.L. Chernyanskiy, first deputy chairman of the Maritime Kray Soviet Executive Committee] We are hoping that the USSR Supreme Soviet will adopt a wise and correct law in September which will make it possible to guarantee foreign investors that their capital will not disappear or be confiscated in any way.

[Reporter] Does the presence of a substantial military contingent here in Maritime Kray not act as an impediment to the creation of a free economic zone?

[Chernyanskiy] Of course it does. It is a big impediment. [camera briefly focuses on a number of warships, one of which is the Marshal Voroshilov]

[Reporter] How does it manifest itself?

[Chernyanskiy] All our relations are turned upside-down. That is to say, the military may authorize something, or ban something, and they are not at all interested in the economic expediency or even the ecological expediency of their actions.

[Reporter] How does the whole country and our republic stand to benefit in the near future from the creation of an economic zone here in Maritime Kray?

[Chernyanskiy] The benefits from free enterprise will zone of increase with time. I am convinced of this. But I must say again, that it will take time, a change in people's way of thinking, and we must also ensure that the invested capital starts producing returns.

Restrictions Placed on Exports From Kuznetsk

LD1808160990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Shops of the the city of Kuznetsk, a major industrial center of the Penza Oblast, may now trade only with those who have a passport with a local residence permit.

The local city executive committee made that decision in order to restrict the export of goods by guests and neighbors from Ulyanovsk, Kuybyshev, and Saratov Oblasts.

However, in the opinion of (Varlamov), chief of the oblast trade directorate, that decision is unfounded. There are resources. There are great possibilities for the production of milk, meat, and other products.

In this case, trading by passport is only a screen guaranteeing a quiet life for the local authorities.

Arctic Cities Adopt Plea For Peace

LD1708155790 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 17 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Zlobin]

[Text] Petrozavodsk August 17 TASS—Members of the newly founded Alliances of Russian North-Western cities held a meeting in Petrozavaodski, Karelia, from August 13-16.

They adopted an address to the Soviet and U.S. Presidents and Icelandic, Candadian, Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish, Soviet and U.S. mayors on the need to strengthen peace in the Arctic Sea zone.

The alliance groups 14 cities with a combined population of ten million.

The address expressed concern about the "lack of progresss towards lessenging East-West confrontation in the arctic Basin". It urged the soviet and U.S. Presidents to open talks on arms reduction there, declare a moratoium on the nuclear build-up in the region as a first step, and end nuclear weapons testing, icluding at the Novaya/Zemlya test site.

Local Authorities Open Gorkiy to Foreigners

LD1908163990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0905 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Summary] Gorkiy 19 August TASS—The town of Gorkiy, also known as Nizhniy Novgorod, has been opened to foreigners. Even though Moscow has not yet confirmed the local authorities' decision to open it, the first groups of U.S. tourists have arrived in a Volga cruise.

Atomic Energy Agency Headquarters Opens in Gomel

LD1808191290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] An International Atomic Energy Agency headquarters has started operating in Gomel. Its task is to implement an independent international project to assess the results of the Chernobyl disaster for the health of the population in the affected areas of Belorussia, Ukraine, and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics]. This is a large-scale program which was approved by representatives of all republics at conferences they held in Kiev and Minsk. Some 100 specialists from 20 countries have arrived in the zone, at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

'Criminals' Steal, Burn Case Files in Khabarovsk

PM2008125390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report by B. Pipiya from a compilation of "USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Summaries": "Sentence Cannot Be Avoided"]

[Text] Can punishment be avoided if court documents are burned? Of course not. One can only postpone a judicial investigation, since it takes time to replace the documents. Nonetheless, this was what recently happened in Khabarovsk.

During the night, persons unknown smashed a window grille at Khabarovsk's Industrialnyy Rayon People's Court, and entered the offices. Breaking open a metal cabinet, they left with 120 criminal case files and burned 80 of them.

The identity of the criminals has not yet been ascertained.

North Ossetian Town Gets Cable Television

LD1908171490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Summary] The town of Mozdok, North Ossetia has cable television as of today. Local television studios have been created at the initiative of the local executive committee. At the moment only entertainment is being shown. From September it will show its own programs on local issues. Local television studios are to start up in five other places in North Ossetia this year.

New Krasnodar Town Newspaper Published

LD1908084790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Summary] The first edition of KRASNODARSKIYE IZVESTIYA, published by the Krasnodar town soviet, came out yesterday. At the moment it is to come out twice a week, but from the new year it will appear five times a week and be distributed on subscription.

New Tatar-Language Paper Published in Kazan

LD1908084690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1450 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Summary] Kazan (Middle Volga) 18 August (TASS)—As of today Kazan has a new Tatar language newspaper, "SHAKHRI KAZAN" or "Kazan Town", which is published by the Kazan Soviet of People's Deputies and the CPSU town committee.

The birth of a new national newspaper in Kazan is a phenomenon of note in the cultural life of the Tatar people, said Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, who visited the republic recently. In congratulating "SHAKHIRI KAZAN", I should like to express the wish that it will become a truly democratic popular rostrum.

The editor of this, the autonomous republic's eighth Tatar language publication, is Khalim Gaynullin.

Western Republics

Gagauz Proclaim Republic; Situation 'Explosive'

LD2108055590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] A Gagauz republic has been proclaimed. This was announced at the first congress of people's deputies of the southern steppes of Moldavia, where 150,000 Gagauz live in a concentrated area. It was stressed that the Gagauz republic remains within the renewed USSR, but, at the same time, is withdrawing from subordination to the state power and government bodies of Moldavia.

This congress, however, has prompted an immediate and very painful reaction from Moldavia. As soon as a few hours after its conclusion, the People's Front of the republic made a televised appeal to the leadership of Moldavia and their compatriots not to permit the dismemberment without the consent of their owners, the people, of lands which have been Moldavian since time immemorial. Tension is increasing, and the situation is becoming explosive.

Kishinev Representatives Form New Group

90UN2572A Kishinev MOLODEZH MOLDAVII in Russian 26 Jul 90 p 8

[Article by unidentified correspondent: "Soviet Moldavia-2"]

[Text] The new group "Soviet Moldavia" formed by representatives of the city soviet and all rayon soviets of the capital of the republic consists of more than 70 deputies. We asked the deputy of the Leninskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies, Ye.D. Varfalomeyeva, to tell us about the group:

"The concept of creating this group was born in the Leninskiy Rayon Soviet of the Intermovement 'Unitatea-Yedinstvo.' The deputies who became its members resolved to support the group of the same name, 'Soviet Moldavia,' in the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and set forth in their program that they will defend the rights of national minorities and all those who hold dear equal rights for the citizens of the republic regardless of their sex, ethnic affiliation, and social position.

"At the first meeting of the 'Soviet Moldavia' group, a coordinating council was created which also includes deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Together they will engage in reinforcing the ranks of the Intermovement 'Unitatea-Yedinstvo,' will begin to maintain closer contact with the electorate, and will seek the adoption of a republic law on referendums and other legislative acts in the interest of all citizens of Moldova."

Belorussia, Azerbaijan Conclude Joint Agreement

LD1808155490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Belorussia has concluded a bilateral government agreement with Azerbaijan. It provides for cooperation in production, in relations between the nationalities, in commerce, in transport, in science, education, and culture.

Both sides have undertaken to fully provide this year produce deliveries set under the earlier quota and concluded agreement. A broad exchange of goods is provided for. In order to guarantee the implementation of the agreement, the sides have approved a bilateral government commission.

It has been decided also to set up a permanent mission of these republics in the capitals of Belorussia and Azerbaijan.

Results of Belorussian Repeat Elections Noted

90UN2615D Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 p 1

[Report under the heading: "In the Central Commission for the Elections of Belorussian SSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] A meeting of the Central Commission for the Elections of Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] People's Deputies took place on 26 July. The results of the repeat elections of Belorussian SSR people's deputies which took place on 20 July in seven electoral districts were examined.

In Gomelskiy-Tsentralnyy Electoral District No. 198, L.N. Sechko was registered as a candidate for Belorussian SSR people's deputy. Out of a total of 17,934 voters, 10,357 took part in the voting. In all, 9,606 voters or 92.7 percent voted for L.N. Sechko. On the basis of Article 53 of the Law on Elections, the Central Commission for the Elections of Belorussian SSR People's Deputies registered Leonid Nikanorovich Sechko, chairman of the Gomel City Soviet of People's Deputies, member of the CPSU, and resident of Gomel, as a Belorussian SSR people's deputy for the Gomelskiy-Tsentralnyy Electoral District No. 198.

The elections in the following districts were declared invalid because less than half of the total number of voters registered on the lists took part in the voting: Serebyanskiy No. 3 and Akademicheskiy No. 27 of Minsk, Gomelskiy-Krasnooktyabrskiy No. 188, Mogilevskiy-Leninskiy No. 273, Mogilevskiy-Altayskiy No. 280, and Osipovichskiy-Gorodskiy No. 304.

The Central Commission adopted a resolution on conducting repeat elections of Belorussian SSR people's deputies in the six electoral districts named above and in 12 other electoral districts where repeat elections conducted earlier were declared invalid.

Members Expelled From Belorussian Party

90UN2589B Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 17 Jul 90 p 2

[Article by correspondent S. Shapran: "Belorussia: Persecution in the Communist Party Has Begun"]

[Text] Minsk—**Four Communists, adherents of the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU," have been expelled from the Belorussian Communist Party. Attempts are being made to fire one more, a co-chairman of the republic "Democratic Platform," from his place of work for taking part in a republic conference and in the Second All-Union Congress of the Democratic Platform.**

The official reason for expelling the Communists was the fact that they transferred their membership dues to the Chernobyl fund. However, for example, V. Pulmanovskiy did this without criticism for five months and it was only after his participation in the Democratic Platform conference that he was, as they say, "exposed." It is curious that five of his colleagues who had also transferred their dues to the Chernobyl fund were not subjected to "the supreme measure"; they were not suspected of sympathizing with the Democratic Platform. A.S. Gusak, besides paying his dues "to the wrong place," took part in composing a demand by 50 Communists of his enterprise that the Central Committee of the republic resign on grounds of political bankruptcy. As a result he was expelled under the formula "for deviating from the party line."

The documentary basis for such persecutions was the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee decree on activities within the Belorussian Communist Party of adherents of the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU." It says in part:

"For obkoms [oblast party committees], gorkoms [city party committees], and raykoms [rayon party committees] to immediately look into the situation arising in all primary party organizations, to conduct conversations with each Communist who has retreated or is retreating from the ideological position of the CPSU, and, on the basis of decisions of the February and March (1990) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, to explain the errors of their views and actions. In necessary instances, when persuasion and explanation do not give the desired results, to examine such Communists at assemblies in the primary party organizations and meetings of the bureaus of the gorkoms, raykoms, and obkoms and to take measures to separate them out, even to the point of expelling them from the party."

These are instructions from Yefrem Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. The Party Building and Cadre Work Department of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee was more definite in decree No. 86:

"...Separatism has begun to appear in the activities of individual clubs, and in a number of party organizations there are processes underway objectively leading to their ideological and organizational dissolution and, in the final result, to the possibility of a split in the Belorussian Communist Party... Some Communists have virtually taken an antiparty position, are openly denigrating the party and its whole historical path, and are denying socialist prospects for the development of Soviet society and the future of the CPSU as an influential political force... The matter has reached the point that there are already instances of secretaries of party organizations handing in their party membership cards...

"In those organizations where this phenomenon is gaining in scope...to form special commissions at plenums of party committees, to charge them with conducting interviews with each delegate to the conference (they are speaking of the republic 'Democratic Platform' conference—S.Sh.), and to clarify their political positions once and for all and quickly introduce proposals to expel them from the ranks of the CPSU..."

This decree was made public. And what happened? The best defense is a good offense: The republic's newspapers are publishing a portion of a decree—one that is a little softer than Sokolov's—and a commentary. Here are excerpts from that quarter as well:

"An analysis of the course of the conference... allows us to draw the conclusion that members of the club have in fact taken the path of an open struggle from an opposition stance and are using methods that are far from the principles of democracy and interparty relations. Proof of this is the creation of a coordination council, determination of oblast representatives for communications with the oblasts, efforts undertaken to form primary structures of the 'Democratic Platform' in some labor collectives, the development of tactics over the short

term, and actions to coordinate activities with like-minded people in other cities of the country.... The logic of events itself has led us to the conclusion that to preserve the party and its development, it has become vitally necessary to separate out those who have taken the course of undermining the unity of the Belorussian Communist Party... even to the point of breaking up individual primary party organizations."

After this, the aforementioned measure followed—exclusion from the party. Although to be honest, I personally would not be especially distressed if they expelled me from the CPSU. It is true, I never belonged to that party.

Belorussia Appoints Gosteleradio Chairman 2 Aug

LD2008193890 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 2 Aug 90 p 3

[Summary] The Supreme Soviet of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] resolves:

To appoint Aleksandr Grigoryevich Stolyarov chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting [Gostelradio] of the Belorussian SSR.

Belorussia Urges Party Funds for Chernobyl

90UN2615B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 p 3

[Appeal of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Adopted by the Belorussian Supreme Soviet on 19 July 1990]

[Text] We, the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies, Communists and nonparty persons, propose that the supreme organ of the party leadership allot R500 million from the party budget as of 1 August 1990 to provide material aid to the population of Belorussia residing in the zone of radioactive contamination after the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

The Chernobyl catastrophe has turned into a national tragedy for the Belorussian people even though it did not occur through the fault of the republic. Allotting money from party funds will demonstrate to all Soviet people the genuine humanity of the CPSU, it will assist in uniting Soviet people at a difficult hour, and it will strengthen the faith of the people in the ability of the party to have an effect upon the grief and pain of peoples, nations, and nationalities of the USSR.

[Dated] Minsk, 19 July 1990.

'Hard Currency' Sought for Chernobyl Relief

90UN2589A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 18 Jul 90 p 1

[Article by the Information Department of the Council of Ministers of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic: "Together We Will Overcome the Tragedy"]

[Text] In our republic a contribution to the solution of the complex "Chernobyl" problems has truly become a "litmus test" of the moral maturity of any person, whatever post he may occupy—from the minister's armchair to the worker's lathe. This contribution may be of many types: It may include the feats of the "eliminators," turning down an apartment in favor of a refugee from the contaminated zone, or the development of a scientifically based program for eliminating the consequences of the disaster.

Today it is clear that only together can we repair the tragedy of Chernobyl. This is especially true in that significant funds are needed. For instance, it is extremely necessary to conduct careful, thorough investigations of the population and its residences as well as radioactive monitoring of foodstuffs and drinking water. And it cannot be put off. However, imported technical means and equipment are required for such efforts. And the extremely insufficient quantity of hard currency which was allotted from the budget for this goal was used up long ago.

This is why at the end of last month the government of the republic asked the collectives of a number of industrial enterprises to give the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Public Health a portion of the funds they have on their accounts in freely convertible currency. The first to respond were the collectives of the "Minsk automotive factory" production association, the "Belmedbioprom" NPO [scientific production association], and the Minsk "Udarnik" factory.

These enterprises are not the richest of the "holders of hard currency." One has 100,000 on its books, another has 300,000... This is not a great amount on the scale of production needs. Therefore we wish to note the high moral sense of this act. Especially after reading the arguments of one enterprise—a "hard currency millionaire": "...The amount of funds earned by the collective for delivery of export production is extremely insufficient for the satisfaction of its own needs." Of course each has the right to dispose of its own money. But a comparison cannot be made between "satisfaction of its own needs" and surmounting a common tragedy.

The account of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Public Health, to which one may credit hard currency, is 950590617 in the Belorussian Foreign Economic Bank of the USSR in the city of Minsk.

CPSU's Baklanov Visits Dnepropetrovsk Oblast

LD1808205290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, has visited Dnepropetrovsk Oblast. Questions of fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU's 28th Congress were discussed during the meetings and conversations in the shop party organizations at one of the biggest enterprises of the defense complex—the Yuzhnoye Scientific and Production Association. Together with those in charge of the USSR Defense Ministry and Defense industries, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee expressed interest in issues of conversion of defense production facilities and in increasing production of consumer goods. Problems of workers social security in the conditions in which defense orders are falling and questions of people finding employment are becoming acute and are in the center of attention. Stepping up the work of party oganizations in this situation was also discussed.

Ukraine Minister Criticizes Central Government

LD2008093590 Moscow TASS in English 0904 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volnyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev August 20 TASS—Five years of perestroyka have brought little economic freedom to people and work collectives in the Ukraine, the republic's Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Urchukin believes.

The central government simply clings on the power, while trying to put the blame for economic disarray on local authorities, Urchukin told TASS.

He accused central authorities of imposing their vision and solutions on republics under cover of democratic phraseology.

This is at odds with republican sovereignty and infringes on their independence, he said.

The Ukraine should begin measures for the transition to market relations, be based on the principles of self-government and economic independence and protect the population in social terms.

The parliament at its next session should pass laws on the Ukrainian constitution and introduce an executive presidency in the republic. A law on taxes for enterprises will also help economic revitalisation, he said.

A law on foreign economic activities is also long overdue. The republic should itself decide on export quotas and licences, free economic zones and their taxation, he said.

Urchukin called for the setting up of a national Ukrainian bank and other commercial joint-stock banks.

The introduction of a Ukrainian currency would cause more shock than a swift move to a free-market, he said.

Lvov Paper's Report on Bakatin Remarks Disputed

PM1708095090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Viktor Drozd: "What the Minister Said"]

[Text] Lvov—The man calling the correspondents' center did not conceal his bewilderment.

"So what did the minister really say?"

It became clear as the conversation continued that my interlocutor was disheartened by the discord in the local mass media in reports on the visit to Lvov by V. Bakatin, USSR internal affairs minister and member of the Presidential Council.

If we are to believe the oblast soviet newspaper ZA VILNU UKRAINY, (partially quoted later in a television appearance by soviet chairman V. Chernovil on television), the important guest unreservedly supported the idea of creating a municipal militia, advocated the rapid depoliticization of the internal affairs organs, and "testified to his personal support for all democratically elected soviets, regardless of their political orientation." The only way the minister grieved his interlocutors was by his frequent references to the barbed wire which should apparently be "wound around all sovereign states." (That is how the newspaper interpreted the minister's position, when he advocated the preservation of a renewed USSR). And yet the conversation ended with the guest's unconcealed surprise: "It turns out that Chernovil is not so awful." (As if anyone in Lvov thought otherwise).

I read ZA VILNU UKRAINY and remembered our meeting with V. Bakatin in the editorial office and our conversation on this subject. I thought: This somehow does not sound like Vadim Viktorovich. And a few days later, a report from the oblast internal affairs administration press center, published by LVOVSKAYA PRAVDA, cast some light on the subject. It drew the conclusion that the newspaper ZA VILNU UKRAINY had once again misled readers. Both about the functions of the municipal militia, and about the internal troops' subordination to the soviet, which the minister countered with: "You are democrats, so what do you need troops for?" The minister also called into question the belief of the leaders of local soviets that there are no armed formations in the western region. V. Bakatin expressed his complete rejection of the dismantling of the V.I. Lenin memorial in Chervonograd, and his distress at the state of affairs as regards construction, the growth in crime, the strained situation in the supply of certain kinds of food to the population, and the fall in labor discipline. But the readers of ZA VILNU UKRAINY did not find out about this.

Why did the newspaper need to present the minister's visit in such a biased way? The answer is to be found in the heading: "Minister in Lvov for the First Time..." Have you guessed? A member of the Presidential Council stepped on the soil of the western region of the republic for the first time and determined straight away that everything is calm and all right here. The minister understood this straight away. Unlike certain organs of the mass media.

Sevastopol Rayon Party Committees Abolished

LD1908195190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] A joint plenum of town and rayon committees of the Ukrainian Communist Party took place in Sevastopol. It was the last sitting for all four rayon committees. The plenum decided to abolish them. Thus the party apparatus is being reduced by more than half.

Last Warship Launched From Nikolayev Shipyard

LD1908144190 Kiev International Service in English 2300 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Excerpts] And again Nikolayev: The missile cruiser Fleet Admiral Lobov became the last warship to be launched from the stocks of the local shipbuilding plant. [passage omitted]

From now on the Nikolayev shipbuilding plant will in the main be manufacturing transport refigerators.

Radiator Plant Closed Down in Donetsk Region

LD1908132990 Kiev International Service in English 2300 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] According to a decision of the city Soviet of People's Deputies of Mariupol, Donetsk region, the radiator plant has been closed down. Its discharges of lead and other harmful substances were poisoning the air. The enterprise can resume work if transferred outside the city limits and on condition that it will become ecologically pure. The deputies also plan to close down several other ecologically dangerous enterprises.

Caucasus

Armenian Repeat Elections Scheduled for 30 Sep

NC1808113790 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0500 GMT 18 Aug 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published the statement of the central electoral commission supervising the elections of the republican people's deputies. The statement reminds voters that repeat elections will be held on 30 September in those okrugs where the Supreme Soviet has ruled election results invalid.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Establishes Commissions

NC1808141590 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet can only function effectively after its standing commissions start functioning. The commissions will have legislative, administrative, and supervisory roles. During its meeting yesterday, the Supreme Soviet session finally confirmed the list of names for members of the 16 standing commissions of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

In view of the prevailing unstable situation, the session did not examine the composition of each commission in order; instead, the deputies first elected the members of the Defense and Internal Affairs Commission yesterday. Vazgen Sargisyan, commander of the territorial defense forces of the Armenian Pannational Movement, was elected chairman of the commission.

Sargisyan told a press conference that the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry must end its subordination to Moscow and conduct relations with the center on the basis of a treaty. He said there are plans to establish a civil defense service in Armenia as well as a police force with criminological, operational, and defense departments. The need for an Armenian national army is unquestionable. This army should be created in stages: the first stage should be the cancellation of the upcoming fall and spring conscription to the Soviet Army. Armenian boys must serve in Armenia.

Armenian Party Central Committee Plenum Meets

LD1808220390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1400 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] Yerevan 18 August (ARMENPRESS-TASS)—The sociopolitical situation in Armenia following the outcome of the election of the chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet came in for fundamental analysis at a plenum of the Communist Party Central Comittee held here today. As you will know, the Communist Party representatives—the head of the republican party organization—suffered defeat in the election.

The fact that a number of party rayon committees had demanded that the entire Central Committee Bureau should resign and the next congress be brought forward contributed largely to the convocation of the plenum. Vladimir Movsisyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, delivered a report.

Armenian Supreme Soviet To Debate Independence

NC1908115290 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Dear radio listeners, as you already know from our reports, the 17 August evening meetings of the first session of the 12th convocation of the republic's Supreme Soviet ended very late and thus during our newscast we were unable to bring you the results of the secret ballots and the views of the deputies on issues under discussion. Though the people's deputies are not meeting on 18 and 19 August, we nevertheless decided to brief you about the meetings held yesterday and bring to your attention the views of some deputies.

The chairman of the Credentials and Ethics Commission and the chairman of the Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy were elected by a closed and secret ballot last night. Yuriy Arutyunyan, chairman of the Auditing Commission, announced the results of the ballot and stated that 172 voted for and 17 against Ashot Vaginakovich Voskanyan's candidacy for the chairmanship of Credentials and Ethics Commission. The session unanimously endorsed the results announced by the Auditing Commission and decided to confirm Ashot Vaginakovich Voskanyan as the chairman of the Credentials and Ethics Commission.

Again, based on the results of the closed and secret voting, the session decided to appoint Ktrich Khachikovich Sardaryan as chairman of the Commission for the Establishment of Independent Statehood and National Policy. [passage omitted]

The final draft version of the declaration of the political status of the republic was distributed to the deputies yesterday. It was formulated based on the important principles found in all the draft declarations. Today and tomorrow the deputies will familiarize themselves with the draft declaration and will debate it on 20 August.

Parliament Begins Debate

LD2008163890 Moscow TASS in English 1632 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By ARMENPRESS correspondent Gagik Melkumyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 20 TASS—The Armenian parliament today started debates on a draft declaration of independence.

The draft declaration represents a synthesis of proposals by various parties and parliamentary factions. The declaration would proclaim Armenia a sovereign state with the priority of republican authority in domestic affairs and foreign relations.

The draft proposes renaming the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] into the Republic of Armenia, that would have all institutions of authority, including its own armed forces, embassies, finances and bank-notes.

The draft declaration does not state directly about Armenia's secession from the USSR. Heated debates began at today's sitting over the issue of the republic's membership in the Union.

Deliberations on each provision of the declaration continued throughout the day. The final adoption of the declaration has been postponed till tomorrow.

New Armenian Supreme Soviet Secretary Profiled

NC1808140090 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] Yerevan, 16 Aug (ARMENPRES)—Ara Akobovich Saakyan [secretary of the Armenian Supreme Soviet] was born on 1 January 1955 in Yerevan. Following graduation from the No. 60 intermediary school imeni Vahan Teryan, he worked in the industrial sector between 1971 and 1973. He graduated from the philosophy department of the history faculty at Yerevan State University in 1978, after which he worked at the Russian and Foreign Languages State Pedagogical Institute named after V.Y. Bryusov. He worked on the the Armenian Soviet encyclopedia between 1980 and 1988 as a scientific editor in the philosophical and legal affairs section. He has been a lecturer at the philosophy faculty of the Yerevan Animal Husbandry and Veterinary Institute since October 1988.

Saakyan is married and has two children.

ARMENPRES Outlines New Armenian Premier

NC1808140790 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 Aug 90

[Text] Yerevan, 16 Aug (ARMENPRES)—Vazgen Mikayelovich Manukyan [chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers] was born in 1946 in Leninakan. He received his secondary education in Yerevan and in 1963 was accepted to the mechanics-mathematics faculty of Yerevan State University. He continued his education at the mechanics-mathematics faculty of Moscow State University between 1965 and 1967. He graduated from Yerevan State University in 1969 and then began his post-graduate studies at the Mathematics Institute named after S.L. Sobolov in Novosibirsk. On returning to Yerevan, he joined the applied mathematics faculty at Yerevan State University, working first as an assistant, then as a senior lecturer, and finally as an associate professor.

He is a candidate of physics and mathematical sciences.

He has been a member of the "Karabakh" Committee since February 1988 and of the administrative board of the Armenian Pannational Movement since November 1989.

On 10 December 1988 he was arrested and imprisoned for being one of the leaders of the "Karabakh" Committee. He was released in May 1989.

Manyukyan is married and has three children.

Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan Meets Procuracy Workers

NC1808123690 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0500 GMT 18 Aug 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The 15 August meeting of Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, with the workers of the republic's procuracy centered around the activities of the law enforcement bodies under conditions of the democratic reforms under way in Armenia.

The chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet addressed those present and noted that for the last two and a half years the failed republic's law enforcement bodies have failed noticeably to take the initiative. The result is that they, along with some other state organs, could not restructure their activities to conform to the new social and political conditions. Certain elements, which attempted to discredit the democratic transformations in Armenia, took immediate advantage of that. Ter-Petrosyan noted that the public is particularly concerned about those armed formations which (?pretend to be) guerrillas and acting as murderers and brigands and are terrorizing the population. There is substantial evidence that these formations were created by the mafia to counterbalance the democratic movement in order to discredit and prevent the latter's victory.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan appealed to the workers of the republic's procuracy to uphold law and order without wavering, to ensure the protection of the citizens, and to wage an uncompromising struggle against crime in a strictly legal way.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan then replied to the questions of those present.

Gevorgyan, procurator of the republic, spoke at the meeting. He assured that the republic's procuracy welcomes the democratic transformations in Armenia and has resolved to protect law and order.

Patrikeyev Cited on Meeting With Ter-Petrosyan

PM2008133190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

["Our correspondent" dispatch under the "Direct Line" rubric: "First Dialogue"]

[Text] Yerevan—A meeting between L. Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, and Colonel General V. Patrikeyev, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, was held in Yerevan.

"I think that our conversation was mutually beneficial," the commander commented on the meeting. "The main point was to clarify the sides' positions and find a path to constructive cooperation. I asked the republic leader a number of questions. They primarily concerned progress in implementing the well-known decree of the country's president on disbanding illegal armed formations and handing in weapons. Questions connected with the armed forces draft were discussed. I also informed Ter-Petrosyan in detail of the extremely complex conditions in which our units and subunits found themselves in Armenia when—to the detriment of combat training—they were forced to worry about taking measures to protect military installations from encroachment on the part of detachments of armed thugs. The chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet is in an optimistic frame of mind, and counts on the support of the broad masses of the population. He assured me that the republic is quite strong enough to bring about the necessary order if it relies on the existing law enforcement structures. I got the impression that the new Armenian leader has a good understanding of the region's strategic significance in defending the country and the importance of the district troops' deployment on the republic's territory. At the same time, he believes that in time, in the future, the question of national military formations may be put on the agenda."

Republics Halt Armenian Quake Restoration Work

NC1908070890 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, visited the quake-stricken areas. Evidently, Armenia's parliament and the newly elected government will review the restoration plan for the disaster zone. The underlying problem is that a comprehensive and integrated plan for restoration work has never been formulated, said the deputy chairman while speaking to reporters.

Unfortunately, he added, what has been done so far was flawed from the very start. When soon after the earthquake the official bodies declared a two-year restoration period, the Karabakh Committee pointed to the bankruptcy of that claim and stated that restoration work must be accomplished using the republic's resources. We were criticized for that, and now we are reaping the fruits of that wrong policy. Now that the centrifugal forces are gaining ground in the Soviet Union, the Union republics are abandoning the work they had assumed without finishing it and are leaving the disaster areas. The dismissal of workers is also causing concern, and this is happening just when there is an acute shortage of working hands.

Armed Group Leader Protests Public Rally 'Demand'

NC1908131790 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 18 Aug 90

[Text] URBAT weekly's unofficial news bulletin reports that Vrezh, the leader of an armed group, created an incident some days ago in front of the headquarters of the Armenian Pannational Movement. He was protesting the demand, made at a public rally the night before by Ashot Manucharyan, a member of the administrative board of the Armenian Pannational Movement, that he should ask for forgiveness from the Armenian Catholicos. Vrezh was the one who spoiled the commemoration of the transfiguration of Christ and the baptism ceremony which were planned on the shores of Lake Sevan. Vrezh had demanded that Catholicos bless his armed detachment on that day, but the latter had turned him down. In retaliation, Vrezh prevented the mass baptism from taking place.

Some days ago Vrezh, accompanied by his armed detachment, launched an attack on the Armenian television headquarters. He smashed the windows and charged in, demanding to be given air time.

[Before the start of the 1530 and 1800 GMT Yerevan International Service newscasts on 18 August, the announcers made the following statement: "Dear compatriots, as you already know, certain armed criminal elements are committing criminal acts and thus are destabilizing the situation in the republic. They have also stolen vehicles belonging to the Armenian State Television and Radio Committee. As a result, the announcers could not arrive here at this late hour so we from the news room are obliged to run the transmission. Therefore, we ask for your forgiveness if anything is not heard properly."]

KGB Disarms 'Notorious' Gang Leader in Armenia

LD1708231390 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 17 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—The State Security Committee (KGB) of the USSR today circulated the following statement:

"Agents of the KGB and the Armenian Interior Ministry disarmed a criminal gang led by a notorious offender known as 'Sery' in Massis District on Thursday.

"The gang comprised 15 members, most with previous convictions for criminal offences, who were engaged in murder and armed robbery.

"Surrounded by KGB and Interior Ministry operatives, the bandits refused to surrender and put up fierce resistance by opening fire from automatic weapons.

"In response measures, three bandits were killed on the spot, the rest were arrested.

"An investigation has been launched.

"According to reports from the republic, after the operation the population became more active in voluntarily handing in arms."

Armed Attacks Continue in Armenia, Azerbaijan

LD1608161290 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 16 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow August 16 TASS—The activities of renegade armed groups in Armenia are becoming more brazen and dangerous every day, according to information made available to TASS by the Soviet Interior Ministry.

Last Tuesday, for example, an armed group of the Armenian informal organisation Vrizharuner (Avenger), led by its leader, trooped into the Armenian republican television centre and demanded that it broadcast a video about the organisation. The group left the TV studios only after being assured that their demand would be met.

The next morning, the building was again blocked by gunmen demanding the broadcast. They threatened to blow up the TV centre and deal summarily with its police guards.

The gunmen left only after talks involving Armenian deputies and senior KGB and Interior Ministry officers.

Also on Wednesday, gunmen raided the police headquarters in Vaik District in Armenia, seizing 18 handguns, an assault rifle, a hunting rifle and some 150 cartridges.

On Tuesday, a large group of armed people commandeered 22 UAZ-469 vehicles from the Armelektrosnab depot.

The situation in Azerbaijan also remains tense, according to officials at the Soviet Interior Ministry press centre.

On Tuesday evening, criminals fired on policemen in Agdzhabegin District, wounding police chief Lieutenant-Colonel Gasanov. Police chased the assailants and apprehended one of them.

On the same day, a group of Azeris stopped a mail van in the Agdam District of the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh and beat up a guard, snatching his weapon and ammunition.

Violence in Caucasus Detailed

LD1808101390 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 17 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—Attacks by unidentified gunmen are becoming considerably more frequent in Azerbaijan and Armenia, reports indicate.

Interior Ministry officials told TASS on Friday that unidentified people blew up a river bridge and damaged 30 meters of road on Thursday near the Azerbaijani village of Dovlyatyarly, Fizulinsky District, on the Goradiz-Stepanakert highway.

Traffic was suspended because of restoration work.

Later in the day Armenian gunmen fired on an Interior Ministry troops patrol in Shakhbuz District, Nakhichevan republic (an autonomous republic, a part of Azerbaijan). Gunmen fled after fire was returned .

A group of armed people on Thursday attempted to drive away 100 head of cattle from a state farm pasture in Mardakert District, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. The attack was fought off by herdsmen.

According to the Soviet Interior Ministry, no ethnic disturbances were registered in Baku, Azerbaijani capital, on Thursday. However, 38 people were detained for violating the curfew.

Judging by communiques of the Soviet Interior Ministry, the situation is more tense in Armenia, where attacks are made every day to seize weapons.

A group of four armed with submachine-guns seized a carbine from a guard of the local power grid section in Kafan District on Thursday.

On the same night, an armed group of 25 stormed into a district militia station in the city of Sevan and seized six pistols and 12 magazines with cartridges.

A 20-strong group attacked four servicemen who guarded cargo in a freight wagon at the Kakavadzor railway station in Razdan District.

Threatening them with weapons, the gunmen seized four submachine guns and eight magazines with 240 cartridges and fled.

Situation 'Remains Unstable'

LD1808124190 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 18 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert August 18 TASS—USSR Interior Ministry troops and investigating officers detained nine militants in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, where the state of emergency is in force, on August 17, seizing a large amount of weapons from them.

The weapons ranged from the Kalashinkov automatic gun to a home-made gun, carbine, rifle, four sporting guns, battle grenade and ammuniton.

The investigating group of the Soviet Interior Ministry is conducting an inquiry into the fact of the unlawful possession of weapons.

The situation is the autonomous region remains unstable. On August 16, unidentified persons blew up a motor-road bridge in the Fizulinsky District near Dovlyatyarly village, the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], adjoining to Nagorno-Karabakh. The blast caused no injuries.

On the same day, a group of persons armed with automatic and sporting guns attacked shepherds from the Mikoyan state farm in the Mardakertsky District of Nagorno-Karabakh and drove away a hundred head of cattle. Shepherds from neighbouring villages pursued the militants. After the shootout, the villagers got the cattle back. Law enforcement agencies launched an investigation into the case.

Clash Reported on Armenia-Azerbaijan Border

LD2008164190 Moscow TASS in English 1628 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Yerevan August 20 TASS—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan informed the republican parliament today about an armed conflict in one sector of the Armenian-Azerbaijani border, the IZVESTIA newspaper reported today.

The clash was triggered by the capture of Armenian hostages near the village of Voskepar in Armenia's Noyemberyanskiy District. To release the hostages, a number of armed groups entered the region without knowledge of and consent from the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

According to preliminary information, both sides had casualties in killed and wounded.

Ter-Petrosyan said that negotiations were currently under way with Azerbaijani authorities to release the hostages. Public prosecutors, KGB and Interior Ministry officials from both republics and the command of the Interior Ministry troops are taking part in the talks.

There is ground to believe that the conflict will be resolved by peaceful means, Ter-Petrosyan said.

The Armenian president denounced the preposterous actions of the armed groups and urged them to display common sense in order to prevent more bloodshed.

"Such actions contradict Armenia's current policies, jeopardise its security and destabilise the situation," he said.

He also stated that there are forces in Armenia which would benefit from this destabilisation.

Ter-Petrosyan Condemns Acts

NC2108091790 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Yerevan, 20 Aug (ARMENPRES)—An armed clash took place on 19 August in Armenia's Noyemberyanskiy Rayon between the Armenian armed detachments and the Azerbaijanis who were supported by the fighters of the Soviet Army. There are dead and injured on both sides.

Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, and the leaders of the Armenian law enforcement bodies have gone to the site of the incident to prevent further bloodshed.

The incident was triggered when the Azerbaijanis took young Armenian men hostage. Negotiations are continuing between Yerevan, Moscow, and Baku for their release. The chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet is taking part in these negotiations.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan made an official statement to the Armenian parliament today [19 August]. He condemned the independent acts that were not coordinated with the Supreme Soviet. He asked for the withdrawal of the armed formations from the border region. To achieve that a group of deputies from the Supreme Soviet left for Noyemberyanskiy.

Azerbaijan Closes Railway

NC2108095390 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0900 GMT 21 Aug 90

[Text] The first session of the 12th convocation of the Armenian Supreme Soviet began today at 1100. Before discussing the draft declaration on Armenian independent statehood, Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan referred to the armed clash in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon. He said that according to the latest figures five people died and 25 were injured during the clashes. Eighteen people, including three (?officers), were taken to the hospital.

The Azerbaijanis used the armed clash as a pretext to halt the movement of trains on Akstafa-Yerevan railway [words indistinct].

Levon Ter-Petrosyan, in analyzing the situation, said that it is now obvious that the gathering of armed groups to liberate an abducted friend is only adventurism and a plot which was masterfully exploited by the Azerbaijani side to advance its own hypothesis concerning possible attacks on border regions of Azerbaijan by the Armenian armed detachments.

The session also discussed issues related to other incidents and a number of proposals were presented. The deputies then continued to debate the draft declaration. The session is continuing its deliberations.

'Terrorists' Fire Missile at Bus in Azerbaijan

LD2008111190 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT 20 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow August 20 TASS—In a dramatic worsening of tensions in Azerbaijan's Kazakh region, terrorists fired a missile at a commuter bus en route from Kazakh to Yukhariy-Askipara at 7:00 on Sunday.

The attackers then opened fire with machine guns, killing one militiaman and wounding four passengers, Soviet Interior Ministry officials told TASS.

Troops called to the area repelled the attack, killing one and injuring two of the terrorists. Two servicemen were also hurt.

On the same day, six helicopters with elite troops were summoned to repel an attack on Baganis-Ayrumand Yukhariy-Askipara settlements. One helicopter was hit and was forced to land near Baganis-Ayrum. Militants opened fire on soliders. Military Pilot Lieutenant Colonel Vladimir Konstantivov was wounded in the shoot-out. The attackers fled the site.

Gun-fire sounded throughout Azerbaijani border areas during Sunday night.

Casualties, Injuries Reported

NC2008204990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Our editorial office received a dramatic report from Kazakhstan today. Militia Captain Sahib Guseynov, chief inspector of the Kazakhskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, announced that a bus carrying militia workers and 16 passengers from Ashagy Askipara to Yukari Askipara was attacked by a large group of armed men who emerged from woodlands in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon, between the two towns. The bus was attacked with automatic arms and missile launchers, and destroyed.

Three passengers and (?Yildiz) Mamedov, a militia [word indistinct], were injured. Chobanov, a militia worker, was discovered to be missing. His body was found near Askipara town three hours after the incident.

The employees of the rayon's internal affairs department and military troops, who rushed to help, returned fire. One of the armed men was killed and another was wounded. The remaining members of the armed group abandoned their weapons and fled into the woodlands.

Mutalibov Appeals to Parliaments

LD2108104490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0932 GMT 21 Aug 90

["Message From the Azerbaijan President to the Republic Supreme Soviets"—TASS headline]

[Text] Baku, 21 Aug (AZERINFORM-TASS)—The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] wil be compelled to undertake actions which will guarantee the republic's sovereignty and security, up to and including calling the attention of the world community. Ayaz Mutalibov, Azerbaijan SSR president, speaking on television this morning, appealed to the Union republic supreme soviets.

As we already reported, the situation on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border has drastically worsened in recent days. Last Sunday Armenian terrorists [preceding word in English] used automatic weapons and grenade launchers to shoot at a bus and also carried out an attack on two settlements in Kazakhskiy Rayon in Azerbaijan. As a result there are dead and wounded. On Monday Levon Ter-Petrosyan, Armenian parliament head, said that the armed clashes were sparked by Armenian hostages seized in an Armenian village. He stated that an

Armenian armed group went into the conflict area without the consent of the Armenian Supreme Soviet's knowledge or consent.

In his message Ayaz Mutalibov noted that "the Azerbaijani people have always connected their future with the Soviet federation formed through history." He emphasized that the reublic's security and integrity and, in the final analysis, the very existence of the Azerbaijani people are seriously threatened.

In Ayaz Mutalibov's opinion, the USSR president's decree "On Banning the Creation of Armed Groups Not Envisaged By USSR Legislation, and the Confiscation of Arms in Instances Where They Are Being Held Illegally" is incomplete from the legal view point, "does not reflect the mechanism of its execution, and fails to account for the real state of affairs in the country and in individual regions."

Nevertheless, he went on, the Azerbaijan public linked it with their hopes for peace and stability and assumed that the presidential decision would be backed up by exhaustive practical measures. "Unfortunately, this did not follow." "The USSR president decided to prolong the period allocated for voluntarily handing over weapons, and in the main, in connecton with the Armenian leadership's appeal. A major political action was essentially wrecked," Ayaz Mutalibov said.

He stressed that many people regard the tardiness in such an uncompromising issue as a compromise and a consequence of the pressure being exerted on the USSR president by separatist and extremist forces. "We cannot fail to see that with the emergence of well-equipped military formations, Armenia is speaking with the language of force not only with its neighbor, but also with the country's leadership," Ayaz Mutalibov declared. In his view "the center has reduced all events in the interethnic conflict to a formula of equal blame which has now been demonstrated as completely unsubstantiated."

"The entire course of events, in the final analysis, demands the adoption of real political, legal, and other sanctions against the Armenian Republic within the powers of the USSR president and the country's government, as happens in cases when the USSR Constitution is violated and the territorial integrity of the Soviet federation is jeopardized," Ayaz Mutalibov said.

NKAO Organization Committee Meeting Detailed

NC1708195790 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] The Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Organization Committee held an enlarged meeting yesterday which included the first secretaries of the party committees of the rayons close to the NKAO, the leading officials of the republic's ministries, main administrations, and social organizations, and the chairmen of the rural soviets. Having received many complaints about the organization of the agricultural workers, the meeting examined the information Adibov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Committee for the Agroindustrial Complex, provided on the development of the agroindustrial sector in the NKAO. Eight new collective farms [kolkhozes] were recently set up in the NKAO. Their borders and their economic structures were also established. These kolkhozes were supplied with seeds and machinery from funds provided by the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for the Agroindustrial Complex. They also received cattle. Six [word indistinct] and R6 million were allocated for the overall needs of the kolkhozes.

However, the construction of buildings is lagging far behind the requirements. The drawing up of [word indistinct] documents has been very slow. The question of the sale of the agricultural produce to the state has not been resolved. The work of the experimental unit of the [name indistinct] institute, which is affiliated with the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences, has not been organized. Consequently, the republic has lost [words indistinct].

Particular attention was focused on the problems related to the construction of buildings for social and cultural services. In their speeches during the meeting, Isay Veliyev, deputy director of the rural construction union; Agayev, secretary of the Mingechaur City Party Committee; Allakhberdiyyev, first secretary of the Barda Rayon Party Committee [Raykom]; Mekhtiyev, first secretary of the Fizuli Raykom; Dzhafarov, first secretary of the [name indistinct] Raykom; Refiyev, first secretary of the Mirbeshir Raykom; Mamedov, chairman of the Khodzhaly City Soviet Executive Committee; and Mutalibov, second secretary of the Askeranskiy Raykom, said that they felt uneasy about the progress of the construction of apartments, schools, and health and cultural installations.

The main task was established: The new schools in the towns of (?Mesheli), Karadagly, (?Beshevler), [name indistinct], (?Guneydere), (?Akhully), and [name indistinct] be completed in September.

Meanwhile, the 26 Baku Commissars District in Baku, which has been affiliated with the Karadagly town, has done nothing to see that the school in the town is repaired and supplied with equipment. The Surakhany and the Botkashan Rayons have completely neglected the question of supplying [words indistinct].

The meeting was given information by the representatives of the Union of Azerbaijan SSR Consumers' Societies, Ministry of Health, and the Ministry of Communications on efforts to improve the trade and [word indistinct] services to the people, establish a system in [word indistinct], and organize the telephone, telegram, and postal services.

The meeting drew the attention of Kasumov, head of the [name indistinct] production union, on the disruption of the construction of roads in (?Mesheli).

Viktor Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, summed up the meeting. [Name indistinct] deputy head of the USSR Supreme Soviet Control and Observation Committee, participated in the work of the meeting.

Azerbaijan KGB Receives President's Arms Decree

KGB Employees Issue Statement

NC1708151190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 15 Aug 90

[Text] The employees of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Committee for State Security [KGB] have issued the following statement:

The employees of the Azerbaijan SSR KGB have received the decree issued by the USSR president banning the establishment of armed groups—which are illegal under USSR law and whose illegal arms must be confiscated—as a document confirming the legal authority of law enforcement organs to stop armed force. This includes certain circles who have used armed force to realize their separatist and nationalist objectives. The republic's KGB organs, the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and those units of the Soviet Army and the USSR Internal Troops deployed in Azerbaijan have drawn up and executed all the measures required to implement the decree in the rayons having a more complex situation.

Under the existing conditions, that is, now that the forces and the means that are available to the Azerbaijan SSR KGB have been mobilized to implement the USSR president's decree without delay, the adoption of a decision to extend the deadline for the illegal groups to surrender their arms voluntarily is only an effort to further delay the implementation of the measures to effectively stabilize the situation in the Transcaucasus.

The decision, which has been adopted as a result of the consultations with the new leaders of the Armenian SSR, is a continuation of the concessions made to those who purport to be politicians and who are eager to change the existing borders.

The current incidents indicate that arms are still being seized and acts of banditry and terrorism are still being committed in the Armenian SSR, just as before. The decision confirms that the government organs in the Armenian SSR continue the practice of avoiding the legislative acts adopted by the USSR leadership from 1988 to 1990, which described the land claims against Azerbaijan as illegal. Furthermore, this practice has been broadened with the help of certain forces and turned into a policy of directing pressure on the state sovereignty organs. The decree, which extended the duration of the implementation of the USSR president's decree, dated 25 July 1990, is the result of this state of affairs.

Willingly or not, this situation has created favorable conditions for the armed groups in the Armenian SSR to engage in more violence. Convinced that they will not be penalized, these groups have intensified their activities, which are aimed at weakening Azerbaijan SSR's territorial integrity, sovereignty, and state and public security. The incidents of the past few days confirm this.

In view of this, the employees of the Azerbaijan SSR KGB make it known that they do not approve of the two-month extension for the voluntary surrender of arms, combat equipment, explosives, technical equipment used in combat, and other military [word indistinct] by the illegal armed groups.

The employees of the Azerbaijan KGB are convinced that this decision, which conflicts with the Soviet people's policy of establishing a lawful state, is an (?attempt) to undermine the implementation of the USSR president's decree dated 25 July 1990, which is very essential and necessary to protect the peace and the security of the citizens.

The failure to implement the legislation in the country has resulted in a worsening of the situation in the region. This has brought the two neighboring peoples to the brink of a war.

Depending on the support of the republic's workers, the employees of the Azerbaijan SSR KGB, together with the employees of the Azerbaijan SSR Internal Affairs Ministry and the military servicemen of the Soviet Army and the USSR Internal Forces, have been protecting the Azerbaijan SSR borders for a long time. Recently, the KGB employees defused hundreds of explosive devices, foiled extremist activities, and captured a number of terrorists, who have been brought to trial. The multinational collective of the guards of Azerbaijan SSR, who have remained loyal to the Constitution and to their obligations to the people, will continue to do everything necessary to defend the Azerbaijan SSR and provide peace and security for the republic and its citizens. Furthermore, they will continue the struggle against terrorism, including terrorist attacks disguised as a part of a national liberation struggle.

We believe that the failure to implement the USSR president's decree dated 25 July 1990 may create unexpected results and new victims in the future.

This statement was approved during the meeting held by the Azerbaijan SSR KGB officers on 14 August 1990.

Guseynov Gives Briefing

LD2008214390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2010 GMT 20 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The Azerbaijani KGB disagrees with the USSR president's decision which extends for two months the time limits for implementing the decree banning armed formations. This was stated at a press conference in Baku. More information follows:

[Correspondent M. Mamedov] I will first mention that journalists from informal publications and even Radio Liberty took part in this press conference. Questions addressed to Vagif Guseynov, chairman of the republican KGB, incidentally, former journalist, were acute and varied.

[Guseynov] Many people certainly did not expect that interethnic conflicts would enter our life. They were unprepared for reality on such a scale and in such an aggressive manner. When I came to the committee I first of all read what the KGB had reported to the center and the Central Committee on Nagorno-Karabakh. I was astonished, comrades. The KGB had provided a most extensive analysis. All those things had been obvious, everything had been calculated. I think that Azerbaijani chekists did great work in this aspect.

[Mamedov] Many people were interested in whether or not the state of emergency in force in Baku and a number of Azerbaijan's areas would hinder democratic processes and, first of all, the holding of elections to the republican parliament.

[Guseynov] I am not in favor of holding democratic elections in the conditions of state of emergency. But one should take account of the political realities. We are somewhat underestimating our people. I think the people will provide an answer to this by their attitude to the elections. The people have this opportunity.

[Mamedov] From now on, on a mutual agreement between chekists and journalists, such meetings will become regular.

Mutalibov Comments on CPSU, Market Economy

LD2008120190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0547 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Baku, 20 Aug—TASS correspondent Natan Barskiy reports:

Ayaz Mutalibov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, considers that the CPSU as a political party cannot give up the struggle for influence and power but must pursue it in alliance with all forces and public movements that hold positions of socialist choice and democratic renewal.

In an interview with the TASS correspondent the 52-year-old leader of the Communists in this Soviet Transcaucasian republic, who was elected its first president in May, expressed profound conviction that the CPSU more than ever needs an upsurge in the theoretical sphere. "There is a need for qualitiatively new socialist thinking. A new concept of socialism is the order of the day," he stressed.

Concerning problems of introducing a market economy Ayaz Mutabilov noted that there must be a carefully considered phased move toward a market with clearly defined priorities at each stage. Would it not be better to move toward a market by experimenting in various zones, he asks. For the starting conditions for entering the market are far from uniform. And how would Azerbaijan fare? Not so long ago, 50 years or so, it produced 50-70 percent of Soviet oil and with true Caucasus generosity it gave it away, as it did with gas along with other resources from its soil, for tbe benefit of the whole union. Is there any moral justification for ignoring this? Is it right in the political sense?

A critical reappraisal of all the processes of recent times is simply vital for the republic's organization, Mutalibov stated. He said that Azerbaijan's Communists—there are 400,000 of them—basically advocated greater independence for the republic's communist party at their 32d congress. In their opinion it must have its own program and rules relecting specific Azerbaijani features in the national, territorial and economic spheres with considerable scope for freedom of action.

"We favor a form of the CPSU that could act as a political guarantor for a new USSR structure based on real sovereignty for the republics, not the sort of sovereignty that was proclaimed for many years. We are for an independent republican Communist Party with equal rights based on common ideals with those of the CPSU," Ayaz Mutalibov stressed in conclusion.

Mutalibov Arrives in Georgia, Signs Agreement

LD1608140690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1100 GMT 16 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], first secretary of the Communist Party of the Azerbaijan Central Committee; and Gasan Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers, have arrived in Tbilisi on a working visit.

The leaders of Georgia and Azerbaijan signed an agreement on the main directions of the development of bilateral ties.

Is this a step towards a Caucasian home? [video shows welcoming ceremony at airport; four men talking at a round table]

Georgian Supreme Soviet Adopts Election Law

LD2008195490 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 20 Aug 90

[Text] Tbilisi August 20 GRUZINFORM-TASS—The composition of the future Georgian parliament will be reduced almost by half. After the elections fixed for late October 1990, it will consist of 250 deputies. This decision was endorsed by the Law on Election to the Georgian Supreme Soviet, adopted by a session of Georgian parliament that ended in Tbilisi.

The number of deputies in future parliament and the way of its election evoked most heated debates when the new law on election was discussed. For the first time election in Georgia will be conducted on a multi-party basis.

The consensus was reached as a result of a compromise. It was decided to conduct elections to the Supreme Soviet on the basis of the mixed majority-proportional system. Half the number of deputies will be elected to parliament from constituencies where only one candidate will run, while the other half of the number of deputies will be elected on multi-party tickets where all parties will have equal representation.

Other fundamental provisions of the new Law on Election emerged in heated debate. The right to elect is granted to all citizens of Georgia who are permanent residents of the repubic and reached the age of 18 by the election day. Georgian citizens witn a permanent residence in the republic of no less than ten years and who have reached the age of 23 by the election day will have a right to be elected to Georgian parliament.

The right to nominate candidates belongs to political parties in Georgia functioning in the republic and to their associations.

Adopting the new Law on Election, the deputies made corresponding amendments and supplements to the Constitution (fundamental law) of Georgia.

Georgian 'Union of National Concord' Planned

LD1908095790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Aug 90

[Text] Representatives of various spheres of Georgia's science, culture, and national economy have decided to set up a union of national concord [soyuz natsionalnogo soglasiya]. The press carries an address from an initiative group signed by 150 prominent representatives of the intelligentsia. A most serious attempt has been undertaken to create not another party but indeed a union with its own concept for the republic's economic, political, and spiritual development. True, the new public organization intends nevertheless to struggle for representation in parliament.

Railway Official Comments on Georgia Blockades

LD1808094690 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 17 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS—Efficient measures should be taken to protect the railways from illegal actions, First Deputy Minister of Railways Vladimir Ginko said here today.

Speaking at a meeting of the Soviet Council of Ministers Presidium, he said that the blockade of the North Caucasian Railway in Samtredia, Georgia, by informal organisations cost R50 million.

Ginko said that a blockade of the North Caucasian Railway is planned in the area of Kotelnya on September 3. According to him, this action may "stop traffic on half of the country's railways."

People who intend to impose a blockade demand that the construction of the Rostov nuclear power plant be stopped, Ginko noted.